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MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

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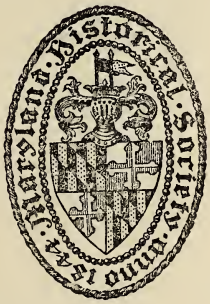

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BALTIMORE

1906

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BALTIMORE

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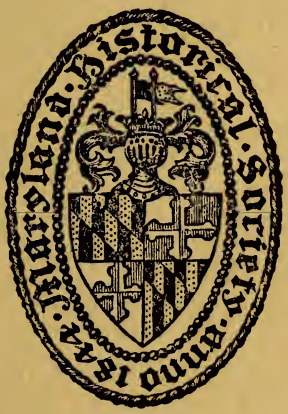

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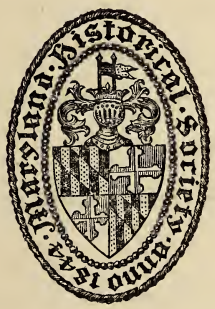

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MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. I. MARCH, 1906. No. 1.

SALUTATORY.

The Maryland Historical Society announces to its members and the public, the establishment by it of a quarterly magazine of history under the title of the *Maryland Historical Magazine*, of which the present publication is the first number.

That there is an ample field of usefulness for such a magazine has been well recognized, and this fact has frequently been urged upon the attention of the Society; but until recently the undertaking did not appear to be practicable.

The material for making this publication both of interest and value will, it is believed, prove ample. Original papers of real and permanent value are from time to time contributed to the Society, which, while too brief to justify their separate publication, would properly find their place in such a magazine as this. It is hoped that the opportunity for publication thus afforded will lead to an increase in the contribution of papers of merit, such as the Society would be justified in publishing.

It is also proposed to publish in the Magazine selections from the rich store of historical documents, letters, etc., in the possession of the Society, which have not hitherto been published.

Provision will also be made for the publication of genealogical notes of real interest and recognized authenticity.

Space for Notes and Queries, and such other features as experience may show to be desirable and expedient, may also be included.

It is moreover proposed to make the Magazine the medium for the publication of the Society's Annual Report and other official communications to members.

The editorial direction of the Magazine will be under the efficient management of Dr. William Hand Browne, well known to every member of the Society as the Editor of the Maryland State Archives.

It is hoped and believed that the publication will prove to be of both use and interest not only to members of the Society but to all students of American, and especially, of Maryland history. With this announcement of its aims, it is commended to their consideration.

THE EARLY COUNTY SEATS AND COURT HOUSES OF BALTIMORE COUNTY.

I.

Although we do not know the exact date, nor the Act, Order of Council, or proclamation under which it was done, there can be no doubt that Baltimore County was established about the year 1659. It has been repeatedly stated that several patents were issued during that year to Col. Nathaniel Utye and others, in which the land granted was described as being in Baltimore County, but this statement, I think, is incorrect. I have had examined every patent granted to Col. Utye prior to 1661, and a large number granted to other persons during the years 1658 and 1659, embracing land which was situated within the original limits of Baltimore County, but in none of them is there any recognition of the then existence of the county.

The transcribed copy of the earliest Land Record of Baltimore County, Liber "R. M., No. H. S.", is now in the Record Office of Baltimore City, and the earliest deed recorded therein is for a tract of land lying "in Potapsco known by the name of Roade River in the Province of Maryland", from Walter Dickeson to Thomas Powell, dated June 28th, 1659; and to be found on page four. There are two or three other deeds bearing date the same year recorded in this Liber, but, while found in a Baltimore County record, there is no mention of the county in any of them, and they were not recorded until 1661.

The earliest evidence of the existence of Baltimore County which I have been able to find, is the writ issued in the name of Cecilius to the Sheriff of Baltimore County, dated January 12th, 1659/60, directing him to provide for the election of four discreet Burgesses to serve in the Assembly to be held in the following February. This writ may be found on page 381 of the Proceed-

ings of the Assembly for that period, as published in the Archives of Maryland, and the session referred to is the first at which delegates from Baltimore County appeared.

When first established, the limits of the county included what are now Harford and Carroll counties, at least a part of Cecil, the City of Baltimore and other territory.

But while we know with tolerable accuracy the year of the erection of the county, we do not know from any documentary evidence that I am aware of, the precise location of its first County Seat, nor just when, within a certain period of eight years, the first Court house was built. The Land Record to which I have referred, opens with the record of the fact that a court was held in Baltimore County on July 20th, 1661, at the house of Captain Thomas Howell (which was in what is now part of Cecil County), and that the Commissioners present were Captain Thomas Howell, Captain Thomas Stockett, Mr. Henry Stockett, Mr. Thomas Powell and Mr. John Taylor. I have frequently seen the statement that a County Court was then and there held; but I have nowhere seen, in connection with it, any reference to the authority upon which the statement was made.

In the same volume (p. 13) is the formal entry of a session of the Court held on September 13th, 1665, at which were present Captain Thomas Stockett and eight other Commissioners, but there is no mention of the place where the Court met. Each of these sessions seems to have been confined to taking acknowledgments and the receipt of deeds for record. I have found no other entry in this Liber of a formal Session of the Court, but on p. 15, at the end of the record of the first deed recorded after the Session of 1665, is the entry that it was acknowledged "in open Court" on November 6th, 1682, and there are many similar entries in this book, though I found no such entry, nor any deed dated, between the years 1665 and 1682.

It is stated in Johnson's *History of Cecil County* (p. 62), that a Court was held in Baltimore County on June 7th, 1664, at the house of Mr. Francis Wright, for the purpose of examining into the case of a Seneca Indian arrested under suspicious circumstances, and the author says there is reason to believe that Balti-

more County Court frequently met (in that part of the County which is now) on the Eastern Shore. It is probable that in the very early days of the County, the Court met at one place or another as convenience or occasion required.

The earliest volume of the Proceedings of the County Court to be found in our Clerk's office, so far as preserved (the first few leaves having been lost) begins with the session of 1682, but so far as I have been able to examine them, they make no mention of the place where the Court was being held. An Act was passed in June, 1674, ch. 16 (Archives, II, p. 413), requiring the Commissioners of *every* County, within a time limited, and under the penalty of a fine, and at the cost of the County, to provide and build a Court house and prison. From the Proceedings of the Assembly of 1674 (Archives, II, p. 430), it appears that the Commissioners of Baltimore County were divided touching the most convenient place for the Court house and prison, which they were required to build under the Act just mentioned, and on the petition of Captain Thomas Todd, who was then a member of the Lower House, it was ordered by the Upper House on February 30th, 1674/5, that the Commissioners should erect said buildings at the head of the Gunpowder River on the north side. The Lower House does not seem to have taken any action in the matter, and certainly no Act was passed. There being some question as to the validity of the Act of 1674, it was repealed in 1676 (ch. 2). It thus seems plain that no Court house had been built previous, at least, to 1675, although some have thought otherwise, and there is no evidence that any Court house was built on the Gunpowder until nearly twenty years later.

The earliest mention of an existing Court House that I know of, is the following Order passed by the County Court on June 6th, 1683 (Proceedings, p. 49), viz. :

"Ordered that Mr. Miles Gibson, High Sheriff of this County of Baltimore, have power and authority to employ carpenters for repairing the Court house and likewise to take care for the setting up of the pillory and stocks." The earliest mention of its location is to be found in the Act of 1683, ch. 5. This Act, passed November 6th, 1683, for the advancement of trade, provided for

the establishment of numerous towns and ports, and among them directed that a town should be laid off "On Bush River on the Town Land *near the Court House.*" There was at that time, as appears by the Map of Maryland and Virginia, prepared by Augustine Herman in 1670, and by other early maps, a town on the east side of Bush River called Baltimore, and there is no reason to question the accuracy of the tradition that this town was then the County Seat, and there is every reason to believe that it was the first established County Seat, and that this court house was the first one built in the county. The Act of 1674, requiring every county to build a court house, and the difference of opinion among the County Commissioners touching the most convenient place for its erection, seem to indicate plainly that at that time there was not only no Court house, but no fixed County Seat. The fact that the Court House on Bush River needed repair in 1683, shows that it had been standing for some years, and the probability is that it was built during or not long after the year 1675. No evidence has been found of any earlier County Seat or Court House.

I am able to submit some evidence confirming the belief that this court house was on the east side of Bush River, and thus fortify the tradition that it was at Old Baltimore. The Proceedings of the Council (Archives, v, p. 473), show that on May 5th, 1686, a petition was submitted asking for the removal of the Court house to a point on the South side of Winter's Run "neere the path that goes from Potomock to the Susquehannoh Rivers." Winter's Run emptied into Bush River from the northwest. Among the reasons given for removal were, that the then court house was out of the way, was difficult of access, and that "in the winter people cannot come for the frost." These reasons would scarcely have been good unless the court house had been on the east side of the river. Consideration of this petition was postponed in order to consult the sheriff and other citizens of the County who then were at St. Mary's, and no further action seems to have been taken.

Again, in a deed from William Osborne to James Phillips, dated June 24th, 1686, Liber R. M., No. H. S., p. 185, the land is described as being on Bush River, and beginning at an oak "a

little beyond the court house." One of the lines of this tract, a certain point having been reached, is, "thence *west* to the river."

In a paper on "Old Baltimore on Bush River," read before this Society in 1875 by Rev. Dr. Leakin, there is an interesting account of this old town, the site of which, he says, was then a clover field about two miles south of the Pennsylvania Railroad bridge.

We thus know that the County Seat with its Court House was on the Bush River in 1683 and as late as 1686, and we also know that the County Seat was settled at Joppa on the Gunpowder in 1712 (ch. 19). We now meet the question which has been much mooted for many years, viz., Was Joppa the second or third County Seat? Was the County Seat moved from Bush River to some other place before it was established at Joppa? I have not been able to find any Act of Assembly, or Order of Council, which authorized the removal; but, with the assistance received from my friend, Mr. Henry F. Thompson, I feel that the fact can now be established that, at some time between the years 1686 and 1695, the County Seat was moved from Bush River to a point at or near the head of the Gunpowder. Of course, we all understand that where we find a fixed court house, there we have the County Seat.

It has been stated in various historical writings and addresses that, after Bush River, there was a Court house at Forster's Neck on the Gunpowder, but the authority given for the statement has always been the Acts of 1706 and 1707, and the construction given to the Act of 1707 was, that it directed the desertion of a supposed Court House at Forster's Neck. This construction is erroneous, and whether there was then a court house at Forster's Neck, or not, these Acts throw no light on the inquiry.

The Act of 1706, ch. 14, in providing for further towns and ports, directed that a town should be laid off "on Forster Neck on Gunpowder River." The Act of 1707, ch. 16, provided that "The place appointed for a town on Gunpowder River on the land called Forster's Neck" should be deserted, and that in lieu thereof (that is, of that proposed town) a town should be erected on a tract on the same River belonging to Anne Felks and called Taylor's Choice, "and the Court house to be built there." But an exami-

nation of these Acts shows that it was the proposed site for a town, and not any supposed court house at Forster's Neck, which was to be deserted; that no provision was made for the erection of a court house at that place, and that there is no recognition of the existence of a court house there at that time. Others, having examined these Acts, have also seen that they furnished no evidence of the existence of a Court house at Forster's Neck, and then, having no evidence of a previous removal, have concluded in their writings that the County Seat continued on Bush River until moved to Joppa.

But, as I have stated, there was a removal to some place on the Gunpowder between 1686 and 1695. The first fact I have that throws light on the question as to a possible removal from Bush River, is the residence of a certain Mr. Moses Groome, the importance of which appears as follows.

In the proceedings of the County Court in February, 1695, p. 564, it is recorded that Moses Groome of Baltimore County filed a petition praying to be saved harmless "for vending and selling liquors by retail to his Majesty's Justices of this said County Court." It was "Ordered that the said petition be continued until next Court ensuing." He appears to have been "saved harmless," for the only action taken at the next Court (March, 1695, p. 568) was, not to punish him for having sold, nor to warn him not to sell again, but to grant him a license to keep an ordinary, so that he might freely and legally continue to sell his liquors to his Majesty's Justices and all others. But the order for a license shows the fact that Groome's residence was his "dwelling plantation at Gunpowder River," and while this record throws several side lights, the one it throws on our present inquiry is the inference that Groome must have lived conveniently near to the Court; that, living on the Gunpowder, it is not likely he would have been selling liquor, particularly at retail, to the Justices if they were still holding Court on Bush River.

The next fact discovered is of much more direct importance. In the proceedings of the County Court at the June Session, 1695 (p. 416), appears the following order, viz., "Ordered that the Justices of each hundred enquire into their respective hundreds

who will be purchasers of the late Court house and land adjoining at Bush River, and accordingly make return at next court of what offers were made." It is afterwards recorded on the same page, "That Mr. John Ferry biddeth four thousand pounds of tobacco for the court house at Bush River." It is thus clear that in 1695 the old court house had been abandoned.

The question now is, where was the Court then being held? The proceedings of this Session do not tell us this nor whether a new court house had then been built; but in Liber H. W., No. 2, p. 126, of the Land Records of Baltimore County, is recorded a deed from Michael Judd to John Hall and others, the inhabitants and freeholders of said County, dated April 1st, 1700, which, in consideration of 3000 pounds of tobacco, conveys to them a two acre parcel of ground "whereon the court house of the said county now standeth," the same being part of a tract called "Simm's Choice." Now, then, where was Simm's Choice? In the same Liber, p. 109, is recorded a deed from Michael Judd to John Taylor, dated June 14th, 1701, which conveys a tract of fifty acres lying "at the head of Gunpowder River in the County aforesaid, excepting only the County Court house and two acres of land thereabout unto to the said Court house belonging, being part of the said fifty acres." These fifty acres are described as being the one-third part and the easternmost end of "Sim's His Choice," and it is further shown by this deed that this tract began "at the northernmost bound tree" of a tract called "Swanson."

On the Rent Rolls of Baltimore County (*Calvert Papers*, p. 224) is an entry of the survey of "Sin's Choice" for Richard Sins on November 28th, 1673, described as containing 150 acres and lying on the south side of the Gunpowder near its head, and at the northernmost bounds of the land called "Swanson." The patent for this tract dated September 28th, 1674 (Land Office Liber 18, p. 205), grants it to Richard Simms, and describes it (as in the survey) as containing 150 acres "lying in the said County on the south side of Gunpowder River near the head of said River," and called "Simms his Choice." The metes and bounds in the patent are, viz., "Beginning at the northernmost bounded tree of the land of the said Simms called Swanson [Swanson had been pre-

viously conveyed by the patentee to Richard Syms—see *post*], and running north and by east fifty perches to a bounded oak by a small branch, then northwest and by west 533⅓ perch, then south and by west fifty perches, then southeast and by east to the first bounded tree." These slightly differing names represent the same tract. Richard Sims by deed of September 2nd, 1679, recorded in Liber II, No. P. P., p. 43, conveys this tract to Nicholas Hempstead by name and description as in the patent.

Some facts must now be noted about the Gunpowder River and its branches. The Gunpowder proper is formed by the junction of the Great and Little Gunpowder Rivers, the Great Gunpowder coming from the northwest, and the Little Gunpowder having a general course from the north by west. Just above the junction, on one side of the neck of land formed by the fork, are the Falls of the Great Gunpowder, and on the other are the Falls of the Little Gunpowder. But while the general course of the Little Gunpowder is as indicated, all the maps, and particularly the larger ones (Taylor's, 1857, and Hopkins', 1878), show that at the junction the shore line of this River, on the neck side, runs somewhat northeast and southwest. The Gunpowder and the Little Gunpowder now form a boundary line between Baltimore and Harford Counties.

The next deed brings us now still nearer to Sim's Choice. By deed dated November 2nd, 1692, recorded in Liber H. M., No. H. S., p. 356, "Sym's Choice" is conveyed by Charles Ramsey to Michael Judd. Though the name has been slightly changed, a comparison of the points of beginning, metes and bounds, shows that it is the same tract granted by the patent, and this is the same Judd who subsequently, by the deed already mentioned, conveyed the parcel of two acres on which the Courthouse stood, in which deed he calls it a part of "Sim's Choice." In the deed to Judd, the tract is said to begin "at a bounded oak the easternmost bound tree" of Swanson, while the patent calls for it to begin at the northernmost bounded tree of that tract; but it will appear from the courses of Swanson that it was rhomboidal in shape, so that the tree at its northeasterly corner would be at the same time, both its northernmost and easternmost bound oak. The fuller description

contained in this deed from Ramsey enables us to much more nearly fix the location of this tract. It is therein described as "Being in the forks of Gunpowder River by the side of the said River," beginning at the Swanson oak and running thence "North and by East for the length of 50 perches up the said River," thence northwest and by west "into the woods," &c., as already given.

The description and metes given in the documents referred to, thus unquestionably locate Simm's Choice on what is now the Baltimore County side of the Little Gunpowder.

This location is confirmed by what the records disclose as to Swanson. The patent for this tract was granted to Edward Swanson, September 23rd, 1665, (Land Office Liber 8, p. 424—100 acres) and it is therein described as "lying at the head of Gunpowder River between two branches," beginning at a beech tree and running thence north and by east up the northernmost branch thirty perches to a red oak (this is the oak which was the beginning of Simm's Choice), thence northwest and by west into the woods 534 perches, then south and by west thirty perches, and then southeast and by east to the beginning.

By deed of July 22nd, 1672, recorded in Liber T. R., No. R. A., p. 31, Edward Swanson of Bush River, conveyed this tract to Richard Syms of Gunpowder River (who in 1674 got his patent for Simm's Choice), which is therein described as lying "in Gunpowder River" near its head "betwixt the Two Falls," and as running according to the lines of the patent. The tract afterwards comes into the possession of Michael Judd (the owner of Simm's Choice) who by deed dated June 12th, 1701, recorded in Liber H. W., No. 2, p. 126, conveys it to John Taylor (who two days later bought the fifty acres of "Sim's His Choice" from Judd) by the description in the patent, that is, as between two branches and running up the northernmost branch, &c.

It thus appears that Simm's Choice and Swanson were each at or near the head of the Gunpowder; that Simm's Choice adjoined Swanson on the north, and therefore, like Swanson, it too must have been "betwixt the two Falls," or, as described in Ramsey's deed to Judd, it was "in the forks of Gunpowder River by the

side of the said River," and its first line ran north by east "up the said River." Simm's Choice, therefore, was on the neck formed by the junction of the Great and Little Gunpowder, which, on Herman's map is called "Sim's Point."

Having clearly located Simm's Choice on the neck called Sim's Point, the statement in the patent that this tract was on the south side of the river, when, according to present knowledge, it ought to have been described as being on the westerly, or southwesterly side, must be ascribed to the lack of precision in the early surveys, or of accurate information in respect to the course of the river. Taylor's Choice, which we know was nearly opposite, is described in the patent as on the north side, and the order of the Upper House already mentioned also speaks of the "north" side of the Gunpowder at its head.

As the result of our joint investigation of this question, I, therefore, feel safe in saying, with the concurrence of Mr. Thompson in the statement, that there was another County Seat after Bush River and before Joppa, and that this second County Seat, with its courthouse, was not at Forster's Neck, but at the head of the Gunpowder, on the neck of land formed by the junction of the Great and Little Gunpowder, and called "Sim's Point." When I began this investigation, I thought it possible that I might find that there had once been a court house at Forster's Neck, but I had never seen or heard a suggestion that there had ever been one on Sim's Point.

One word as to Forster's Neck, about which much has been said as having once been the supposed site of a court house. As this name is spelled both Forster and Foster in a certain patent granted to the man, no attention need be given to the difference in spelling found in other papers. It has been with great difficulty that any accurate information could be obtained as to this tract, or neck; but it was not on Sim's Point. Not far below the Gunpowder Falls, there are two creeks running into the river from the northward, that is from what is now the Harford County side, and on Herrman's map the westerly one is called Taylor's Creek and the easterly one Foster's Creek; but no mention is made of the neck, nor could I find it on my map. In searching the Rent Rolls for

something about Forster's Neck, an entry was found of the survey for Samuel Sickelmore, on June 20th, 1689, of a tract of 318 acres called "Wolves Harbour," lying on the north side of the Gunpowder and "on the west side of the mouth of Foster's Creek," and there is a memorandom that the rent on this tract was "taken away by a survey of Foster's Neck"; but I am informed by Mr. George H. Shafer, the Chief Clerk, that no record of a survey or patent for a tract called Foster's Neck can be found in the Land Office.

The patent for "Wolves Harbour" is granted under the name of "Woolf Harbor" to Samuel Sickelmore on November 10th, 1695, (Land Office Liber C., No. 3, p. 503) and it is described as beginning at a chestnut tree on the west side of the mouth of Forster's Creek and running up the river north north west" to an oak standing at the mouth of Taylor's Creek, then north up this creek, and by different courses (meanwhile making a call for an oak by the side of Forster's Neck road), until it comes back to Forster's Creek, and then down Forster's Creek to the beginning, containing 318 acres.

There being no patent for a tract called Forster's Neck, a search for patents to any one named Forster, led to the discovery of a patent for a tract called "Goldsmith's Neck," issued to Mathew Goldsmith and Edward Forster on February 24th, 1661, for a tract on the Gunpowder, which begins at the easterly side of Taylor's Creek and runs southeasterly down the river to Forster's Creek, and then up this creek, &c., containing two hundred acres.

It is thus seen that Goldsmith's Neck began at Taylor's Creek and ran down the river to Forster's Creek, while Woolf Harbor, under the later patent, began at Forster's Creek and ran up the river to Taylor's Creek; and that Goldsmith's Neck embraced the land on the west side of Forster's Creek, which was afterwards included in the patent for Woolf Harbor. To the extent of two hundred acres, therefore, there was a conflict and the prior title was under the patent for Goldsmith's Neck. This would explain why the rent on Woolf Harbor was "taken away" by another survey. The memorandum mentioned, however, says that it was taken away by a survey of *Foster's Neck*, but as there was no

survey or patent of any tract called Foster's Neck, the explanation seems to be that this rent was in fact taken away by the prior survey and patent of Goldsmith's Neck, and that this Neck afterward became known to the public as Foster's Neck.

This explanation is further supported by certain conveyances. By deed dated May 9th, 1666, Liber I. R., No. P. P., p. 56, Mathew Gouldsmith conveys to Richard Windley and James Phillips all his interest in a tract of two hundred acres (the same quantity as in Goldsmith's Neck) lying on the Gunpowder and "commonly known as Foster's Neck"; and by deed of November 9th, 1666, same Liber, p. 62, Windley and Phillips conveyed the interest acquired from Goldsmith to Francis Trippas, also describing the tract as "commonly known as Foster's Neck," and as being near the plantation of John Taylor. Taylor's plantation was on Taylor's Choice, a tract which touched the westerly side of Taylor's Creek, while Goldsmith's Neck, as already stated, was on the easterly side of the same creek. From the records referred to, I think it can be safely said that the tract "commonly known as Foster's Neck" was the same tract that had been patented as Goldsmith's Neck, lying on the northeasterly side of the river, between the two creeks mentioned, and nearly opposite Sim's Point. There is no evidence, nor any reason to believe, that a court house was ever built there.

(Since this paper was read before the Society, another deed has been found which confirms the theory just stated, and establishes the fact that Goldsmith's Neck and Foster's Neck were one and the same tract. It is a deed from John Boone, dated June 5th, 1707, recorded in Liber R. M., No. H. S., p. 553, conveying to John Ewings "all that Neck and tract of land now called, known or deemed heretofore to be Goldsmith's Neck, often called Foster's Neck, taken up by a certain Mathew Goldsmith and Edward Foster," as more fully appears by patent dated February 24th, 1661. The description follows the lines of this patent, and the deed also refers to the suit in which the prior title was established against Samuel Sickelmore, the patentee of Woolf Harbor).

While the ascertainment of the facts stated in respect to the first and second county seats has involved no small degree of research,

I do not, for a moment, intimate that the sources of information have at all been exhausted. I am sure that much more of interest could be found by a more thorough examination than I have been able to give to the subject.

So far we have the County Seats and Court houses on Bush River and Simm's Point. In 1712 the County Seat was moved to Joppa; in 1768 it was moved to Baltimore, under the Constitution of 1851 the City was separated from the County, and the County Seat of the County afterwards established at Towson. Some notice of these changes and of a few incidents connected with the history of the first court house built in Baltimore, will be reserved for later consideration.

A PIRATE IN THE CHESAPEAKE BAY.

In the Maryland Historical Society's *Fund Publication*, No. 37, page 164, may be found the following remarks made by Dr. Bray on the character of Governor Nicholson then of Virginia: "Considering this Governor's late Heroick Actions in the Conquest of the most desperate of Enemies, the Pirates, who were so infatuated as to approach his Province, and in whose Reduction his own Personal Prowess, Presence and Valour had a share, but that it was necessary to the Service of his Prince, of his Government, and of its Trade, almost to a Fault. It's hard to say, whether Arms or Letters have the greatest Right to challenge him for their General."

Reference is here made to an event of great importance to the Colonies of Maryland and Virginia, which, although now forgotten, must have been much talked of in the presence of Dr. Bray, who arrived in Maryland but a short time before it took place.

A pirate ship, which had taken several vessels off the Capes, entered Lynnhaven Bay with several of her captures, intending

to take in water and provisions, and fit out one or more of the captured vessels, as members of the pirate fleet, which then numbered four vessels, and of which the chief was *La Paix*, or "The Peace" as she is generally called in the papers relating to the event of her defeat and capture by H. M. ship *Shoreham*, Captain Passenger, after a battle which lasted ten hours, and was sustained on both sides with great courage and determination.

It was not only by his decision and prompt action that Governor Nicholson aided in bringing about the result of this; for it was in a great measure owing to him, that there was a man-of-war stationed in the Chesapeake Bay.

From the time of his arrival in Maryland, he urged on the authorities at home the importance of having one or more vessels of war stationed in the Chesapeake, for the protection of the inhabitants of Maryland and Virginia; and in accordance with his recommendation, men-of-war had been sent out. In the order providing for sending them, it was made a condition that they should be good sailers, and should be relieved every year.

The *Shoreham* had arrived some weeks before to relieve the *Essex Prize* which at the time of the fight was under repair, and being made ready for the voyage home, so that she was in no condition to take any part in a fight with a pirate.

The *Essex Prize* was a small vessel carrying only sixteen guns, so that it was perhaps well for the Colonies that she was relieved by a larger ship, which was able to cope with the "Peace," which carried twenty guns and had a crew of 140 men.

The narrative of these events is drawn partly from a copy of the record of a case in the Court of Admiralty held in May, 1700 in Hampton Town, Virginia, one of the Rawlinson MSS. in the Bodleian Library, and partly from the letters of Governor Nicholson of Virginia, in the Public Record Office, London.

On the 17th of April, 1700, the pink *Baltimore* of Bristol, was captured by a pirate, who put sixteen of his own men on board the pink. One man was killed, and six men were taken on board the pirate, leaving six men (with the pirate crew) on the pink.

The next day the same pirate took, in Lat. 36°, a sloop, the *George*, Capt. Joseph Forrest, of Pennsylvania, 25 Tons, and

carried Capt. Forrest and some of his men on board their own ship, after plundering the *George*, taking with other things about £200. in gold and leaving six of their own men to take charge of the sloop.

A few days later, or on the 23 day of April, the ship *Pennsylvania Merchant*, of 80 tons, bound from London to Philadelphia, was nearing the Capes of the Delaware, when late in the day, a vessel was seen to be following her, and the next morning was found to be close to her. The pirate *La Paix*, for it was she, ran up "a blood-red flag," fired several guns at the *Pennsylvania Merchant*, and called on her "to heave-to," which order the Captain, Samuel Harrison, thought it best to obey.

The pirates then boarded her and made the ship's company and the passengers—thirty-one persons in all—go with them to their own ship, first taking from their prisoners everything of any value which they had about them, among other things, a "watch enamelled green and gold," from one of the passengers, Thomas Murray of Pennsylvania.

They then proceeded to rifle the ship, taking from her provisions, sails, rigging, spars, etc., and then on the second day setting fire to and abandoning her. Samuel Harris testified, that having been sent on board the *Pennsylvania Merchant* "to fetch a hatt for some one in the boat," he "saw the Pilote, by name John Hoogling making a fire in the great Cabbin, and another person, the Carpenter, cutting a hole in the side, which persons came on board the boat and left said ship burning and sinking."

The pirates then stood in towards the land, and came to an anchor. They then announced their intention of going inside the Capes of the Chesapeake to take in water, after which they would cruise outside until they should meet a pink which belonged to them and was to join them near the Capes.

This pirate ship was of 200 tons burthen, ninety feet long, carried twenty guns and one hundred and forty men, mostly Frenchmen or Dutchmen, and was commanded by Louis Guillar, a Frenchman. She was a formidable antagonist, and there were three other vessels, subject to the orders of Capt. Guillar, only one of which made its appearance on the coast, at the time of the

capture of *La Paix*, and of that one we shall hear presently as "the pink," no name being mentioned. *La Paix* lay at anchor all day Saturday, and during the night got under way, and early on Sunday morning a ship was seen coming out of the Chesapeake Bay. All the prisoners were ordered below into the hold, and ranging near the ship—which proved to be the *Indian King* bound for London—they fired on her and forced her to surrender. The captain—Edward Whitaker—was ordered to go on board *La Paix*, and when he reached her deck, he and his boat's crew were bound and detained as prisoners, the pirates taking his boat and boarding the *Indian King*, where they took prisoners Captain Baldwin Matthews, Mr. George Livingstone, a merchant of Philadelphia, and Samuel Crutchfield. These were bound, with their arms made fast behind them, their money and valuables were taken from them, and they were carried by the pirates to their own ship, which the crew of the *Indian King* were ordered to follow.

Soon after, the *Friendship* of Belfast, bound for Liverpool, was seen a few miles outside the Capes, when the pirate bore down on her, fired several shot at her and commanded her master to come on board. One of the shot struck and killed the master, Hans Hamell, but the first mate, John Colwell, went on board with four of his men, who were all detained as prisoners, while the boat, manned by some of the pirates, went back to the *Friendship*, when the crew and passengers were ordered into the forecastle, and the usual work of plundering went on, until the pirates thought they had all the more portable valuables in the ship, when they returned to *La Paix*, first ordering the crew to make sail, and stand into Lynnhaven Bay, following the "man-of-war," as they called their own ship.

Before they anchored in Lynnhaven Bay, another ship was seen —the *Nicholson*, commanded by Robert Lurten or Lurting, bound for London. This ship was hailed and ordered to strike, the order being accompanied by several shot, which wounded some of the crew, and as usual produced a ready compliance with the orders issued from *La Paix*. Captain Lurten was ordered to come

on board, and when he did so, he and his men were made prisoners and confined in the hold, while some of the pirates taking his boat, went on board the *Nicholson*, and forced the crew to help them in throwing overboard more than one hundred casks of tobacco, as well as a great deal in bulk. This was done to make room on the *Nicholson* for guns, ammunition, provisions, water, etc., as the pirates intended to fit her out in order that she might join them, she being a large vessel and a very good sailer.

Captain Guillar now anchored in Lynnhaven Bay with his captures, consisting of the ships *Friendship*, *Indian King* and *Nicholson*, the pink *Baltimore*, and the sloop *George*, and he began at once to take in water, and transfer provisions, sails, cordage, and whatever else he wanted, to his own ship, that she might be ready for another cruise.

While he was thus busily occupied, a vessel which had been lying in Lynnhaven Bay, when he entered the Capes, was making her way to Kiquotan or Hampton, which place she reached on Sunday, about noon, when her master told Captain John Aldred, commander of H. M. ship *Essex Prize*, that he had seen a fleet of pirates coming into Lynnhaven Bay.

It so happened, that on that Sunday afternoon, there were gathered at the house of Col. Wm. Wilson, at Kiquotan, the Governor, Col. Nicholson, Captain William Passenger, Commander of H. M. ship *Shoreham*, Joseph Mann, Esq., and some other gentlemen of the Colony, when Captain Aldred made his appearance, and told them the report he had just heard of the arrival of a fleet of pirates in the Chesapeake Bay.

The news was startling, no doubt, and broke unpleasantly on the quiet of their Sunday afternoon, but there was no hesitation or discussion as to what was to be done. In a short time, in obedience to the orders of the Governor, Capt. Passenger was on his way to his ship to get everything ready for a start that evening, and the following despatch was written and sent to Lieut. Col. Ballard or Major William Buckner at Yorktown.

Kiquotan, April 28, 1700.
Between 3 & 4 o'clock in the afternoon.

Virginia

Capt. John Aldred Commander of his Majᵗⁱᵉˢ Ship "Essex Prize" hath just now given me an Accᵒᵗ thᵗ there are 3 or 4 Ships or Vessels in Lynhaven Bay who are supposed to be pyrates. I doe therefore in his Majᵗⁱᵉˢ name comand you that upon sight hereof you give Notice to the Comanders of the Ships & Vessels in York River thᵗ they may take care of their Ships and Vessels, and that you do immediately order the Militia in yoʳ parts to be ready, and you must forthwith dispatch an Express to the Coˡˢ & Chief Officers of Middlesex, Lancaster, Northumberland and Westmoreland Counties to be ready.

The Coˡ or Chief Officer of Northumberland I doe Impower in his Majᵗⁱᵉˢ name, forthwith to press a good boat & able men and send an Accᵗ to any of his Majᵗⁱᵉˢ Officers, either Military or Civill in his Majᵗⁱᵉˢ Province of Maryland of these 3 or 4 Ships or Vessels being in Lynhaven Bay, and that they are desired immediately to dispatch an Express to his Excy Nathaniel Blakiston esqʳ his Majᵗⁱᵉˢ Captⁿ Genˡ & Governʳ in Chief, & Vice Admirall of his Majᵗⁱᵉˢ Province of Maryland and I doe hereby promise to any person or psons who shall take or kill any Pyrate that shall belong to Either of these 3 or 4 Ships or Vessels in Lynhaven Bay a reward of twenty pounds Stirlen for each pyrate they shall either take or kill.

To Lieut Coˡˡ Thomas Ballard or Major William Buckner at Yorktown who are to take a copy hereof & Dispatch it as directed. Each Coˡˡ or Chief Officer is also to take a copy hereof & dispatch it as directed. Lieut Coˡ Ballard, Thᵒˢ Ballard & Majʳ Wᵐ Buckner are to send to the Honble Coˡ Edmd Jennings with a copy of this, and they are likewise to send a copy of this to Coˡ Phillip Ludwell who is in his Majᵗⁱᵉˢ name Comanded to have the Militia of James City ready by this order of Kiquotan Apˡ 28, 1700.

Lieut Coˡ Miles Cary Commander in Chief of his Majᵗⁱᵉˢ Militia in Warwick County, Coˡˢ or Chief Officers of Princess Ann Nanzemond & the Isle of Wight, Coˡ Mason or any of the Comanding Officers in said Norfolk County.

Fr. Nicholson.

Having thus made preparation to resist any descent by the pirates on the shores of the Bay, Governor Nicholson, accompanied by Capt. Aldred, Joseph Mann, Esq., and Peter Hayman,

Esq., went on board the *Shoreham*, which was called in the Navy List a "Fifth Rate," and carried twenty-eight guns and about one hundred and twenty men, so that she was somewhat stronger than *La Paix*.

About sunrise on Monday morning, the Pirates saw the *Shoreham* coming out of James River, with the "King's Jack flag and ancient spread abroad," and at once a signal was made from *La Paix*, ordering all her men on board, an order which was promptly obeyed by all except two who were sound asleep on the *Nicholson*, and who were afterwards overpowered, and sent on board the *Shoreham*.

A report of the movements of the *Shoreham* was made by Captain Passenger in the following words, viz.:

On board his Majestys Ship the *Shoreham*.

On Sunday the 28th April about 3 in the even, I lay with his Majesty's Ship Shoreham at Kiquotan a watering when there came in a Merchant Ship that brought the news of a pirate in Lynhaven bay that had taken some Virginia Men bound out of the Capes. At which news I immediately called all my people from the Shore that were filling water, and made a signll for all the Masters of the Merchant Ships, that Lay there bound out, to take some men out of them by reason I wanted seven men of my Complement. I took eight men out of their boats & weighed anchor and turned down. The wind being contrary & night coming on the pylot would venture no further So we came to anchor about three Leagues short of the Pirate. About 10 at night his Excellency ffrancis Nicholson esqr Governour of Virginia, came on board with Capt. Aldred of the Essex Prize and Peter Hayman esqr who remained on board during the whole action.

At 3 in the morning being the 29th of April I weigh'd and at 4 made the pirate where he lay at anchor and we came within half a mile he loosed his Topsails and got under Sail, with a design as they have since told me, to get to windward and board us, and said this is but a small fellow we shall have him presently I guessed his Intentions and kept to windward fired one shott at him. He immediately hoysts a Jack Ensign with a broad Pendent all Red, and return'd me thanks. So then the dispute began being about 5 oclock in the morning and continued till 3 in

the afternoon, the major part of which time within pistoll Shott of one another. It was a fine Top Gall^{t}. gale of wind and I sailing something better than the pirate so that he could not get the wind of me to Lay me on board w^{ch} was his Design, Notwithstanding he made several Trips, and when I gott just in his hause, I went about likewise. So after we had shott all his masts, yards, sails, Rigging all to shatters, unmounted several guns and hull almost beaten to pieces, and being very near the shore he put his helm a Lee so the Ship came about, but he having no Braces, bowlines, nor sheets to haule his Sails about, and we playing small shott and partridge so fast that all his men run into the hold, so the Ship drove on shore, with all her shatter'd sails aback, I immediately Let go my anchor in 3 fath^{m} water so he struck his ensign. I left off firing. They had laid a train to 30 barrels of powder and threatened to blow the Ship up and they must all perish. So the English prisoners that were on board interceded for one to swim on board of me to acquaint me of his designs and in the name of all the rest desire they might have some promise of quarter Otherwise those resolute fellows would certainly blow up the Ship, and they must all perish with those piraticall villains. And the Captain would have it from under hand in writing. His Excellency the Governour being on board, In regard of so many prisoners that were his Maj^{tys} subjects thought fit to send them word under his hand and Lesser Seale, they should all be referr'd to the Kings mercy, with the proviso they would quietly yield themselves up prisoners of war.

W. Passenger.

It has been said that the crew of *La Paix* was composed almost entirely of Frenchmen or Dutchmen, but that there were a few of other nationalities. Among the latter was one John Hoogley or Hoogling, who was born in New York of Dutch parents, was the Pilot of *La Paix*, one of the foremost in the plundering of the prisoners, and as many said was "held in much esteem by the Pirates." He spoke English very well, was about 30 years old, and a "thick sett fellow, with short curled hair, round face & a great thick neck." He made, during the fight, several visits to the prisoners in the hold, who numbered forty or fifty, and who were of course very anxious to know how the fight was going, and what was to be their own fate.

At his first visit, he told them "Oh! Damn her, she is a little thing and we will soon have her;" a few hours later, he said "he hoped in a short time to get to windward of them and have the dogs," and about 3 p. m. he announced that *La Paix*, having been forced into shallow water, where she was at the mercy of the *Shoreham*, they—the Pirates—had determined not to surrender, but to blow up their Ship with all on board.

As may be supposed, at hearing this the prisoners were alarmed for their own safety, and joined heartily in the suggestion that one of their number should swim to the *Shoreham* and inform the commanding officer of the resolution of the pirates, and the deplorable condition of the prisoners in their hands.

At the instance of Capt. Samuel Harrison of the *Pennsylvania Merchant* and others, permission was obtained for John Lumpany, a young man of 23 and one of the passengers on the *Pennsylvania Merchant*, to undertake this mission and thereby, as was hoped, save the lives of the prisoners.

That he was successful we have seen, and he returned with the following document given to him by Governor Nicholson, viz.:

Virginia ss

On board his Matys Ship Shoreham off Cape Henry this 29th April 1700 betwixt four and five of the Clock post meridiem.

Whereas Capt Lewis Guillar Commander of the Laypasse hath proffer'd to surrender himself men and Ship, together with what effects therunto belonging provided he may have quarter, which I grant him on the performance of the same and refer him and his men to the mercy of my royal Master King William the third whom God preserve.

Given under my hand and Lesser Seale at armes the day and yeare above written.

Fr. Nicholson.

About four o'clock the pirates hauled down their "blood red flag," hoisted a white flag and ceased firing, after a fight lasting ten hours, during which twenty-five or thirty of them were killed and many wounded, but of these there is no number given.

Of the casualties on the *Shoreham* there is no mention except

in one instance. Peter Hayman, Esq., who went on board with Governor Nicholson, was killed by a shot from the pirate, while standing on the quarter deck, by the side of the Governor.

The *Shoreham*, however, received much damage, had to have a new mainmast, and undergo many repairs before she was fit for another cruise.

It has been said that after the capture of the *Pennsylvania Merchant*, the Pirates told Capt. Harrison that when they had taken in water they would go out again to meet a pink which belonged to them, and would soon be near the Capes of the Chesapeake. This pink (whose name is not given) was a vessel of about one hundred tons, and forty or fifty men, but carried no great guns, only small arms, and was a remarkably fast sailer. On the 23d of April, or on the same day that *La Paix* was seen from the *Pennsylvania Merchant*, this pink seized, about thirty leagues from Cape Henry, the ship *Barbadoes Merchant* of Liverpool, bound to Virginia, and in the language of Capt. Fletcher, "They, designing to get some good ship and more company, used much kindness to Deponent and his men, persuading them to join the Pirates, but when they refused, the Pirates used them cruelly, cut away his masts, sails, rigging and bowspritt, threw overboard their books, took all their candles, broke the compass, and disabled them so that they supposed the ship would perish and never give any intelligence."

The pirates stripped the Captain and beat him with the flat of their cutlasses, amused themselves with jeering at the Captain and crew, and asked why they cut away their masts, complained that there was no ammunition nor tobacco on board and left them, taking the Carpenter and one other man, and the ship's long-boat.

Fortunately the foremast, and its sails and rigging were close to the ship, and the crew getting them on board, rigged jury masts, and made sail upon her, so that on the Sunday evening before the battle in Lynnhaven Bay, the ship got in the Capes and anchored in Accomac.

This same pink captured a brigantine which had just come out of the Capes, in sight of the house of Adam Hayes, about eight or ten miles south of Cape Henry, and after taking from her

sails, her foreyard and provisions, cut off her rudder head in order to disable her, and plundering the chests of the crew, left her and stood away to the North East.

They also took and scuttled a ship of about 110 Tons, which had been loaded in York River, and was believed to be a ship commanded by Capt. Wheeler "who brot the Brandy and Wine into York river."

A boat came ashore in Queen Anne County, Va., with seven men who had been prisoners on this pink and were sent off—as they supposed—because it was too crowded on board, there being nine left, in addition to the fifty pirates.

On hearing of these facts, Mr. Adam Thorougood, Sheriff of Queen Anne County, sent a letter to Capt. Passenger to inform him of the depredations being committed by this pink. This letter Capt. Passenger gave to Mr. Benjamin Harrison with the request that he would give it to the Governor, as he, Capt. Passenger, could not then write, because there was "much Company still with him," although Mr. Harrison and some others were then going ashore.

Mr. Harrison wrote from Williamsburg at ten o'clock in the evening, and dispatched his letter to the Governor at Jamestown, which was still the Capital and the residence of the Governor, and was distant from Williamsburg about seven miles.

At eleven o'clock on the same evening the Governor wrote to Capt. Passenger "if his Maj^{tys} Ship 'Shoreham' under your command be at present capable of going to Sea to look after the Pirates in the Pink &c. I would have you do it so soon as God willing wind and weather permits, but if the 'Shoreham' be not in a sailing condition then you may if you think convenient, send y^{r} boat or boats to look after sd Pirates in order either to take or burn the sd Pink & I hereby authorize & impower you to stop all Ships & vessels from going out of the Capes & order them to Kiquotan."

The *Shoreham* was not in a condition to go, but Capt. Passenger sent several boats under the command of his first Lieutenant. They could not see anything of the pink, nor was she again heard of near the Capes.

The damage done by *La Paix* and her consort was very great, and may be summed up as follows, viz.: one ship burned, another sunk, four captured, 110 casks of tobacco, a great deal in bulk, many goods from England thrown overboard, two brigantines captured and much damaged, one pink and one sloop captured, make a list, which, without taking into consideration the anxiety and suffering of forty or fifty prisoners held on *La Paix*, caused much alarm among the inhabitants of Maryland and Virginia.

At a Court of Admiralty held at Hampton Town, the following order was passed on the 15th May, viz.:

"The Court orders the said Ship called the 'Peace' be forfeited with all her guns ammunition sails furniture & apparel to be divided & apportioned accdg to rules & orders of the sea in such cases made & provided.

EDWD. HILL."

A true Copy
MILES CARY Reg^r

An inventory, which was taken after the captured goods had been returned to their owners, shows that *La Paix* carried on deck twenty iron guns with all things belonging to them, and that in addition there were in the hold 13 guns, of which 8 had carriages and 5 none. There were "30 fire arms," 2 barrels of pistol-shot, and 32 half and quarter barrels of gunpowder, but nothing is said of large shot of any kind, or of cutlasses, without which weapon one can hardly imagine a pirate.

In the matter of provisions, there was one barrel of beef, 13 casks of bread, 19 barrels of flour (of which 2 were musty), 1 cask of oatmeal and 3 jars of oil, a small supply for 140 men; and it must have been a matter of congratulation among them when they saw themselves with such a supply of provisions as they found on the captured ships, congratulations which were however soon turned to curses on their ill fortune in venturing inside the Capes.

When the pirates surrendered, it was on the conditions set forth in Governor Nicholson's letter, viz.: Quarter to the captain and

his men, and he refers them to the mercy of the King; so that it is not easy to understand why three of them were tried and condemned to death at Kiquotan, "pursuant to an Act of Assembly about pirates, the same as in Maryland." Such is the fact, and they were: John Hougling or Hoogley, of whom mention has been made several times, as one of the leading men on the pirate ship; Cornelius Franc, a Dutchman, and Francois Delanne, a Frenchman.

These prisoners, however, made their escape from the house in which they were confined (although they were guarded by six armed men) by undermining the house, and crossing the bay in a canoe which they found near the place of their confinement.

Pursuit was begun at once, and twenty pounds reward was offered for the apprehension of each one of the three, alive or dead. They were stopped and held prisoners by Mr. Edmond Curtis, on Sunday morning, as he thought they were pirates or marauders of some kind. They were delivered to the Sheriff of Princess Anne County, and were executed according to the sentence pronounced by the Court. The others were sent home to England in irons, and all the blacksmiths in and near Kiquotan were kept busy for several days making shackles for them.

Twenty-five or thirty of the pirates were killed in the fight, eight died of their wounds, three were executed in Virginia and ninety-nine were sent to England by the first fleet, which sailed on the 9th June, 1700, and numbered 57 ships, convoyed by the *Essex Prize*. Two of the ships, the *Indian King* and the *Nicholson*, which had been in the hands of the pirates a short time before, now carried, the first, five and the second, three, of the pirates who were on their way to England, to learn what fate was to be awarded to them. What became of them, the writer has not been able to learn and with their departure from Virginia must end the story of "A Pirate in the Chesapeake Bay."

BALTIMORE AND ITS DEFENCES, PAST AND PRESENT.

In the beginning of its life Baltimore was rather insignificant. Its first defence was a stockade, as the only enemies to be feared were the savage Indians, who were quite near neighbors and quite hostile.

In 1752 Baltimore contained but about 200 people. Their distribution is indicated pretty well by the position of the stockade just mentioned, which was the only defence needed at that time.

The stockade was of wood and arranged for defence by small arms only. It had two gates for ingress and egress, one at what was then the west end of Baltimore street, as it is now called, near its intersection with McClellan Alley. The second gate was on Gay street, near the present bridge over Jones' Falls. There was also a small gate for footmen near the present intersection of Charles and Saratoga streets.

This stockade did not last long, as it was probably built of unseasoned trees, and its disappearance was hastened by the need for fire wood one very cold and severe winter, soon after its construction.

In 1755 it had disappeared when the need for some defence was again strongly felt, as against the Indians, who became much emboldened in their threats and raids upon the settlements of the whites. This increased aggressiveness on their part was due to the disastrous defeat of Braddock near Fort Du Quesne in July, 1755.

In 1756 the Indians approached within 30 miles of Baltimore. The inhabitants of the little town, in expectation of attack by them, raised a considerable sum of money for the purchase of arms and ammunition, and would no doubt have built another stockade if the Indians had not soon withdrawn.

The next recorded step in the growth of the defences of Balti-

more was twenty years later, in March, 1776, when much alarm was caused by the appearance in the Bay of the British ship *Otter*. It became necessary then to prepare for a defence on the water side, as the enemy was expected from that direction, whereas none such was needed against the Indians. A ship, called the *Defence*, which was nearly completed in the harbor at that time, was hastily prepared for service. While the *Otter* did not tarry long, the scare hastened the construction of certain defences which had been ordered by the Provincial authorities. A boom was put in position between the Lazaretto and Whetstone Point or Neck, the latter being the present site of Fort McHenry. Earthen batteries were built and guns mounted at those points. A chain was also stretched across the mouth of the harbor supported by twenty-one small sunken vessels. This last obstruction was soon removed as it impeded navigation too much. Beacon stations were also prepared on the shores of the river and Bay, to assist by lights at night and other signals by day in giving timely notice of the approach of an enemy.

I have not been able to discover that any special excitement was caused in Baltimore while Arnold, after his defection on the Hudson in 1781, was raiding the country on the lower Chesapeake, at which time Richmond was burned, Petersburg suffered greatly, and the country near them was plundered.

In 1794 the battery on Whetstone Point was repaired and the present enclosed bastioned fort was built. The whole property was ceded to the United States and received its present name after James McHenry, who had been Secretary to Genl. Washington during the war of the Revolution and became Secretary of War in 1798.

In 1798, when England and France were at war, it seemed probable that the United States might be drawn into it. The citizens of Baltimore subscribed money to build two sloops of war called the *Maryland* and the *Chesapeake*, which were presented to the Government of the United States.

Baltimore remained in tranquillity, so far as danger from attack was concerned, until March, 1813, when news came of the depredations committed by Admiral Cockburn at several points on the shores of the Bay; but the excitement became very great when, on

the 16th of April, 1813, he appeared at the mouth of the river with his fleet and threatened the city. Active operations were at once begun by the authorities of the State and city to strengthen the old defences and erect new ones. In these efforts they were aided by officers of the Army and Navy of the United States, who were detailed for the purpose. Fort McHenry, which was in bad condition, was repaired. A large water battery was erected in front of it, which still stands, and Fort Covington was built. Furnaces were prepared for heating shot, and other minor but important defensive arrangements were made, such as improving the means of intercommunication between the several points occupied. The British Admiral continued to blockade the Patapsco and to raid and depredate the shores of the Bay. It is quite probable he would then have made an attack on the city if he had not been deterred by the belief that his force was not sufficiently strong to cope successfully with the defences of which he had heard so much.

In June, 1814, the expected British reinforcements came. Baltimore meanwhile had continued vigorously working on her defences. In August, 1814, the attack was made by way of the Patuxent river on the city of Washington, which was captured and burned by the British naval and land forces of Cockburn and Ross. A small naval force was left, however, near the mouth of the Patapsco. A flotilla under Barney had meantime been prepared and did excellent service in opposing raiding parties.

But the British soon returned to prepare for the delayed assault on Baltimore. They were full of exultation over their success against the capital of the Union and they were also especially exasperated against Baltimore because she had sent out so many clipper ships to prey on the commerce of England. Baltimore was, moreover, a prize worth the seeking by any foe, as she had now become our third city in population and the fourth in wealth and commerce. But she was not destined to become the prey of her enemies. Her brave people were not dismayed by the disaster at Washington, though so near and so serious, but prepared with renewed activity for the vigorous and gallant and successful resistance they made a little later.

The British had forgotten the lesson of thirty-five years before, taught at Lexington, Bunker Hill, Saratoga, Yorktown and elsewhere, which was expressed in the thought crystallized in the glorious words of Key of Maryland, that this is "the land of the free and the home of the brave."

It is interesting here to recall the fact that the inspiration of the "Star Spangled Banner" came to Key at a point about midway between Fort McHenry and the site of Fort Carroll, when he was for a short time detained by the British Admiral on one of his ships during the attack on Fort McHenry.

In September, 1814, the crisis came. Work on the defences had been conducted with skill and vigor, and good progress had been made. Besides Fort McHenry and its water battery on Whetstone Point, there were Fort Covington and the City (or Babcock) battery on the Patapsco side. Also at the end of Light street near the present Fort Avenue there was an unfinished redoubt for seven guns. There was also a battery of four guns at Lazaretto Point, opposite Fort McHenry. Vessels were sunk between these two points and also in the river towards the Anne Arundel shore. Lines of intrenchments were also constructed on Loudenslager's Hill in and near what is now known as Patterson Park. The batteries and lines are all shown on the map made by Col. Kearney of the United States Engineers.

To the details of the engagement called the Battle of North Point and the attack on Fort McHenry, I shall return later, when commenting on some of the features of a proper defence of any locality with special application to Baltimore and its environs.

As the city grew it became necessary to provide defences farther down the river. This led to the adoption of the site now occupied by Fort Carroll, which was so named in honor of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. This is the best location in the whole river for a work of defence for heavy guns. One of its six faces looks right down the channel along which large ships must come, and the fire of the big guns from that face of Fort Carroll would rake them from stem to stern. The deep channel, as it passes this point, is between it and Hawkins' Point, which is but a mile distant.

Preparations were made for beginning work at Fort Carroll about 1847, under the direction of Major Ogden of the United States Corps of Engineers, but in 1848 he was succeeded by Captain and Brevet-Col. Robert E. Lee, of the same corps, who remained in charge until 1852, when Lee went to West Point as Superintendent and was succeeded here by Capt. Brewerton.

I hope to be excused here for interjecting the personal statement that I was then (1852) a cadet at West Point and saw Robert E. Lee for the first time. He was in his 44th year, in the prime of his magnificent manhood in mind and body. His fame as a soldier from the Mexican War made him an object of great attractiveness to the cadets who were in training for the profession he adorned; and to my youthful eyes he seemed the most splendid man I had ever seen, and in truth he was as splendid as any man of ancient or modern times. His son Custis, also a cadet at the time, was one of my personal friends, and thus I was privileged to see the home life of Genl. Lee who was as charming there as everywhere else where he was known.

Fort Carroll was built in the water where it was twelve or fifteen feet deep. Its walls are on piles which were driven as far as they would go. On the top of these was placed a wooden grillage, and upon the grillage the massive stones of the foundation were laid with the use of the diving bell. The space thus enclosed was filled with material excavated from the channel near by. The walls are faced with granite and filled with concrete. The actual construction was commenced by Col. Lee and continued mainly by Capt. Brewerton, but to some extent also by Foster and Whiting.

I may remark that there was never a finer piece of engineering work of its kind. Its designer was Genl. Totten, then Chief of Engineers of the Army. It was arranged after the style of a half century ago, before the range and power of naval guns became so great. It was intended to have about 225 guns, three tiers in casemates, and one in barbette. When the walls had been carried up above the level of the second tier of casemates the whole structure was found to be settling, and work on it was suspended for nearly 40 years, during which interval the sub-

sidence ceased. It was never completed according to the original design, but it has now been converted into a modern battery with heavy rifled guns of the best kinds. If finished according to the original plan it could have resisted successfully the naval guns of that time. This was demonstrated by the fact that Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor, a fort very much of the same kind as Fort Carroll, though attacked by the powerful fleet of Dupont in 1861 and later by Dahlgren, was almost uninjured by the Navy, and its guns sent to the bottom more than one of the attacking monitors and ironclads. It was later knocked to pieces by the guns of Genl. Gilmore's batteries, but his attack was on the land side, a quarter where an enemy had never been expected to appear.

While Fort Carroll was in my charge, and the superior authorities had decided not to build it higher in masonry, I was engaged in deepening and widening the ship channel whence a large amount of earth and sand was being removed. I proposed to the then Chief of Engineers to cover the masonry walls with this material to any proper thickness and thus convert it into an earthwork and prepare it for receiving a battery of the heaviest guns on the top. But Congress was not then in a mood for doing anything with works of defence, and Fort Carroll remained an eye-sore and an object of derision for many years to the ignorant passers-by who were not aware of its possibilities. It may not be generally known that there is in the centre of Fort Carroll an artesian well, supplying very good water, fit for use in case of an emergency. There is also one at Fort McHenry, but at the latter place the water of the city is now furnished and distributed.

During the Mexican War there was no reason for apprehending an attack by water, so that nothing was done to increase the defences of Baltimore. During the Civil War an earthwork was built on Federal Hill and another, called Fort Marshall, on the high ground opposite Fort McHenry and overlooking it.

A number of small field works were put up on the outskirts of the city and other arrangements made for the purpose mainly of keeping out raiding parties of Confederate cavalry, and there was great excitement and alarm in the city after Early's victory over

Wallace at the Monocacy and while Lee was in Maryland and Pennsylvania before and after the great battle of Gettysburg. A few of these small works still remain. There is, for instance, one in a prominent place at the Madison Avenue entrance of Druid Hill Park.

For years as Baltimore continued to grow in wealth, size and importance, and especially when it was decided to make a shorter, deeper channel from the Bay to the city, and so increase the ease of approach by heavy ships of war as well as of commerce, and there was so much feeling in Congress and among the people against continuing work on structures of masonry like Fort Carroll and Fort Wool at the Rip-Raps near Fort Monroe, that it was clearly seen by those whose duty it was to prepare proper defences when the means were given for that purpose, that other sites on land should be procured for the erection of batteries for heavy guns. I labored for years to get for the United States possession of Hawkins' Point, which is one of the most important in a proper system of defence for Baltimore. And the same was true of North Point. But it was only after I went to Washington in 1895 as Chief of Engineers, by personal and persistent efforts with my military superiors and committees of Congress, that I succeeded in having the proper steps taken for acquiring those two sites and one other in this harbor, on which are now as fine batteries as are to be found anywhere in the world.

The spell having been broken, equal success followed in the efforts to secure additional sites for fortifications at Portland, Boston, Newport, New York, on the Delaware, the Potomac, at Hampton Roads, Wilmington, Charleston, Savannah, Key West, Pensacola, Galveston, all along the Pacific coast at important points from San Diego, near the Mexican border, to the British at the Straits of Fuca.

All sorts of objections were made to the purchase of these sites, a very frequent one being that the United States would suffer greatly at the hands of speculators. This objection will always apply when the Government undertakes to buy any property; but if honest agents are employed, there is no reason why fraud should be perpetrated. There were local objections made to the acquisi-

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tion of almost every site; some founded on ignorance even in high places. To illustrate:—When I urged a high official to permit steps to be taken for the acquisition of sites on the Patapsco, such as Hawkins' and North Points, and on the Potomac near Fort Washington, and at Sheridan's Point, &c., he replied, under the advice of one of his ablest assistants about other matters, that while Fort Monroe was in place there was no need for defences on the Patapsco and Potomac. It was supposed that ships from the ocean coming up the Bay passed under the guns of Fort Monroe. A glance at the map will show what a mistake that was.

Until within the past few years it was considered useless to erect batteries at the wide entrance between the capes of the Chesapeake, and it was expected to depend upon floating batteries to protect that entrance. The mention of these should be included in the defences of Baltimore. Now that the ranges and power of guns are so vastly increased, it is deemed expedient to select locations for batteries on land at that entrance. These are of importance to Baltimore.

Besides the procuring of sites on which to erect batteries, money was equally necessary to pay for the guns and the platforms, parapets, magazines, &c., required to mount and serve them. After the most persistent efforts, in which I was cordially sustained by Genl. Schofield, then in command of the Army, also by Secretary Lamont and President Cleveland, Congress was induced at its session of 1895–6 to grant the largest appropriation for fortifications known in our history up to that time. Active work was begun on new batteries on the new sites, and in remodeling the old batteries, many of which were almost in ruins. This seemed providential, as, when the war with Spain broke out, many of the new and old batteries had been put in such condition as to be capable of excellent service in conjunction with the torpedoes whose use had been for years a matter of special and thorough, but quiet and unostentatious, study and preparation at the Engineer School at Willett's Point in New York Harbor.

At the time of the trouble over the *Virginius* in Cuban waters, when war with Spain seemed inevitable, and we had no navy worth speaking of, and our coast was almost defenceless, all that could

be done in the harbor of Baltimore, as money for the purpose was very scarce, was to mount one fifteen-inch smooth-bore gun at Fort Carroll and to renovate the old water battery at McHenry. Arrangements were made to sink hulks, &c., in the channel, to prevent the ingress of Spanish ships, a very sure way also to stop commerce in ships of heavy draught. A little later the new earthen battery along the sea wall at Fort McHenry was built under my direction. It is still in good condition but no guns have yet been mounted in it.

I return now for a few moments to the attack on Baltimore in 1814, to draw special attention to a matter which is deemed important enough to be thus noticed. The engagement near North Point, between the British and American forces, took place September 12th, 1814, a day which should be ever memorable, but I will not here allude to its details. On the morning of the next day (the 13th), the British fleet opened fire on Fort McHenry about sunrise from a distance of about two miles. The bombardment was kept up but with no great effect. About midnight it was found that a fleet of small boats had slipped past Fort McHenry in the darkness and that a force of about twelve hundred men, provided with scaling ladders and other appliances, was about to disembark, with the expectation of taking Fort McHenry in the rear. This attempt was brought to naught by the fire of the guns in Fort Covington and the batteries near it.

While the bombardment of Fort McHenry was in progress the American forces withdrew from their first position and took up another at and near Loudenslager's Hill. The British followed. The boat attack, which was made about midnight of the 13th, had failed. The British forces on the North Point side withdrew about two or three hours later, but the bombardment of Fort McHenry continued some time longer in order to cover the retreat of the boat party and to draw attention from the retrograde movement of the forces on the other side.

The point to which I wish now to call special attention is the importance of not omitting, in the plans for the defence of any important position, to prepare and maintain an interior line to play just such a part as was taken by Fort Covington and the

adjacent batteries in the attack on Baltimore in 1814. At that time Fort McHenry and Lazaretto Point formed the outer line of defence against the Naval attack, the inner being at Fort Covington and the adjacent batteries. At this day the existing water battery at Fort McHenry should be maintained in the best condition, armed with rapid fire and rifled guns, as an inner line, to repel small vessels which might in the night or in the smoke of battle pass the outer lines of North Point and Carroll.

A few more words with reference to the general principles of the proper system of defence for any locality.

A fundamental principle is that every point should be under a heavy fire, where an enemy's ships could lie and fire upon the city, or other object to be defended. The greatly increased range of guns used by the navy and the increased mobility which steam and improved machinery give to every ship make it necessary for the main lines of defence to be much more distant than formerly from the object to be defended.

Moreover instead of depending on a single large work with very many guns in a comparatively small space upon which the fire of the hostile fleet could be concentrated, the idea now is to have several separate batteries, heavily armed, so located as to converge their fire on the fleet or any one of its ships. Of course, when time allows, the path of an advancing fleet and other points the ships might reach in their manœuvres should be also protected by torpedoes. A most important point is that the torpedoes should always be under the fire of the guns of the defence to make them as safe as possible from interference and removal by the enemy.

Besides its use in connection with torpedoes in the defence, electricity is a most important help in the handling by machinery of the huge ammunition of the present day, also for the prompt transmission of orders and other communications between the different batteries of a system and the different parts of a single large battery, so as to facilitate the control of the fire of every battery and gun to the best advantage for effect upon the enemy.

Of course advantage should be taken, with proper judgment, of the modern rifled, breech-loading guns with disappearing

carriages, as well as of the huge mortars whose projectiles are so destructive, and the accuracy of whose fire, as well as their range, so much greater than formerly. The rapid fire gun is also a most important adjunct in the defence. A few other points I will only allude to very briefly.

It is maintained by some that we need no land defences, but should depend upon the navy to take care of our coast cities and harbors. If we had but one port, we might perhaps do so, but even then our navy would be tied up from the exercise of its proper function, which is to be aggressive. For stationary work the land defences are very much cheaper in the beginning, and also for maintenance. The lives of ships are very short. England has the most powerful navy in the world, and yet her ports bristle with guns in numerous and powerful batteries on shore, and the same is true of every great European power. To insure dependence on the navy for defence against a foreign enemy or a combination of several nations against us would require that we should have a navy so large as to permit us to station at or near almost every important port or harbor ships enough to resist a powerful naval attack upon it. To do that would bankrupt even the overflowing treasury of the United States.

No civilized nation dispenses with land defences, no matter how powerful its navy may be. Turkey and China do. Shall we follow their example? I think not.

One hostile ship, suddenly appearing where there were incomplete land defences or none, and when a defensive fleet happened to be away from its station, could inflict an enormous damage in an hour, and then be off to some other exposed point. We have not yet forgotten how Boston and other ports where the defences were incomplete at the beginning of the late war with Spain were alarmed for fear a single Spanish ship of war should attack them. How much greater cause for apprehension would have existed if our enemy had been England, or France, or Germany! We do not forget how San Francisco was excited, and the whole country for her, when it seemed probable we might have war with Chile some years ago. And we must not forget the already formidable naval power of Japan.

The relative strength and endurance of forts and ships have often been tested in actual contest, and I believe the assertion is entirely safe that forts, properly constructed, properly equipped, properly manned, and properly fought, have always proved themselves the better as against ships. They are far cheaper in first cost, gun for gun, as also for maintenance. Their defenders may know, and should know, if properly instructed, every point where a hostile ship could be, and can concentrate their fire upon every such point in succession. Even if the ships concentrate their fire upon any one of the separate batteries, they are at the same time exposed to the concentrated fire of all the other batteries whose officers know beforehand exactly the range of every point within their field of fire. Much stress is laid upon the advantage given to ships by their ability to move from point to point. This is of far more importance for ships against each other in the open, as was demonstrated at Santiago; but the conditions are very different in the defence of channels and harbors where the great draught of formidable ships makes their limits of motion very contracted, and where it is arranged that they can neither move nor be still at any point where their fire would be dangerous without being themselves exposed to a concentrated fire.

There are places for which very little protection can be given by forts; but these are few. Such, for example, are Chicago and Galveston, that are built up to the very edge of the water by which an enemy would come to attack them.

To come nearer home I may say that the great establishment at Sparrow's Point is vulnerable in the harbor of Baltimore, and it is well worth defending. For this and other reasons I believe the day will come when a big battery will be located at Bodkin Point which is still further to the front than North Point.

It may also be expedient some day to put a strong battery on the shoal now called Seven-Foot Knoll, where an artificial island could soon be made with the material that is removed in such large quantities from the continued deepening of the channel.

It may be that the dirigible balloon, which seems likely to be a success at no distant day, will cause a complete change in the methods of war, if it does not put an end to it. A big balloon,

loaded with dynamite and hovering over a city, a battery or a fleet, would soon bring it to terms. Batteries and ships could be rendered useless. As Sherman said, "War is Hell," and if an end can be put to it from the fear of its dreadful attendants and consequences let us welcome the balloon with its destructive possibilities.

In this country we see the contests of men, corporations, and even great sovereign States settled in peace, by appeal to the highest legal tribunals. Why may not the increased expense and horrors of this remnant of barbarism, called War, lead civilized nations to have recourse to a great international tribunal to settle their disputes without resort to brute force and violence?

Then, even if there be not "good will among men," there can be "peace on earth," and a great advance will be made toward the end of things when the Prince of Peace will come to reign over the whole earth "from the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same." May God hasten that day!

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF WASHINGTON TO GENERAL GIST.

[From the Gist Papers in the collections of the Maryland Historical Society.]

On publick Service

Colonel Mordecai Gist
at
Baltimore

Head Quarters Morristown 12th March 1777

Sir

You are hereby required immediately to send me an exact return of the state of your Regiment, and to march all the Recruits you have to Philadelphia, where they will be innoculated,

and receive further orders from the Commanding Officer in that City.

No plea's for delay, drawn from the dispersion of the Officers and Men, can be admitted.

Every Commanding Officer should know where his inferior Officers, and those where their Recruits, are; and shou'd be able to collect them in the most expeditious manner.

You and the Major must come on with the Regiment, leaving behind a sufficient number of proper Officers to carry on the Recruiting Service; Also the Lieu^{t} Col^{o} to direct and hurry them on as fast as they get the compliment of men respectively assign'd to them

I am Sir

Your H^{ble} Serv^{t}

Co^{ll} Mordecai Gist. G Washington

To Colonel Mordecai Gist

Sir

The Congress having called upon the State of Maryland to furnish a number of Militia to assist in repelling the Invasion of the Enemy by way of Chesepeak Bay and appointed Brigad^{r} Smallwood and yourself to arrange—conduct and command them, You are to repair, without loss of Time to George Town on Sassafras on the Eastern Shore of that State, or elsewhere on the East side of Chesepeak Bay, where the Militia are assembling for the purpose aforesaid, and to arrange & form them as soon as possible into the best order you can;—Which having done, you are to march them immediately towards the Head of Elk within a convenient distance to harrass and annoy the Enemy's right Flank and the parties they may send out; either while they remain there, or in any march they may attempt towards Philadelphia, or into the Country. For this purpose you will occupy the best posts you can, having regard to the security of your Corps against sudden attacks and surprizes by the Enemy. To prevent the Latter, it will be necessary to keep out constant

patroles & scouting parties, and you will also use every means in your power, to obtain good information of their situation and the earliest intelligence of their designs & intended movements.

You will report to me an Account of your Arrival—the place where—the Amount of your Force, and every Occurrence from time to time that you may consider material and necessary.

In a peculiar manner you will extend your care to the Cattle—Horses & Stock of all kinds, lying contiguous to the Enemy and within such a distance, that there may be a probability of their falling into their Hands. These must be driven out of their reach, and All Waggons & Carts removed that might facilitate the movement of their Baggage and Stores.

I shall not enlarge upon this occasion nor enter into a more minute detail for your conduct, observing at the same time, that the situation of the Enemy, calls loudly for the exertions of All, and that I cannot but recommend the strictest care—attention—and dispatch in executing the Objects of your command.

You will speak to the Quarter Master & Commissaries of provisions & storage and agree with them upon a mode by which you may be supplied with such necessaries, as you may have occasion for in the Line of their respective Departments.

There is One thing more which I would mention, Viz—If there should be any Mills in the Neighbourhood of the Enemy, and which may be liable to fall into their hands, the Runners should be removed and secured. This can be of no injury, or but a temporary one to the proprietors, while it will effectually prevent the Enemy from using the Mills. Grain too, should be carried out of their way, as far as circumstances will admit.

Given at Wilmington this 31st day of
Augt 1777.

G° Washington

Brig: Gerl. Gist

Head Quarters Passaic Falls 13th Novemr. 1780.

Dear Sir

I have rec. your favor of the 26th ult.o with a Return of the Maryland additional Regiment, and a Copy of General Gates's instructions to you. You will, I presume before this reaches you, have seen Major General Greene, in his way to take the command of the southern Army, and will have received from him such further directions as he may have thought necessary.

I shall be glad of a line from you, from time to time, informing me of the progress of raising and forwarding the Recruits.

I am Dear Sir

Your most obt. Servt.

G.o Washington

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public service

To

Brigr. General Gist

at

Baltimore

Head Quarters New Windsor 2d. Janry. 1781.

Dear Sir

I am pleased to hear, by yours of the 15th ult.o, that the Legislature of your State are making spirited exertions and preparations against the next Campaign. This seems to be the prevailing disposition, but I fear the means which have been generally adopted, for procuring Men, will not answer. Where there is an alternative of Money or Men, the former will be preferred by the Classes, as being least troublesome.

Mrs. Washington informs me, that when she passed thro' Baltimore, you were at a loss to know how to apply the Shirts purchased by the subscription of the Ladies. I wonder at that, as I had, sometime before, written to Mrs. Governor Lee, and

desired that they might all be sent to the southern Army. My letter, I presume, had not then reached her, or she had not communicated intentions to those who have the care of them.

I am Dear Sir

Your most obt and hble Servt

Go Washington

Brigr Genl Gist.

Head Quarters Head of Elk Sept. 7th 1781

Sir

This will be deliver'd to you by the Officer of the French Navy, who brought the Dispatches from the Count de Grasse; if before his return to Baltimore, you shall have found a conveyance for the Letter addressed to the Count which was forwarded from hence this morning, the Cutter will remain and act as a Convoy to Fleet in its passage down the Bay; if on the contrary, those dispatches have not been sent on for the Count de Grasse, the Commanding Officer of the Cutter is to take charge of them and proceed directly to the Count.

I am Sir, Your most

Obedient Humble Servant

Brigadr Genll Gist Go Washington

a duplicate of this was sent by an express this day, thro' a mistake

Brigadier General Gist

Baltimore

THE MIGRATIONS OF BALTIMORE TOWN.

I have wondered that so little is known of Baltimore previous to 1730. Indeed a recent historian states that, "no living man could tell with any degree of certainty where the County Seat of Baltimore County was first located." People are usually fond of tracing their ancestors except when poverty is suspected; but however this suspicion of poverty may affect individuals, a large city should not fear the closest investigation of its origin, because the more humble the ancestor, the more strikingly contrasted are the growth, wealth and commerce of the great-grandchild.

Baltimore County, established in 1659, included the upper part of the Eastern Shore above Chester River. Cecil was established in 1674, including all of Baltimore County on the Eastern Shore. Kent County, established in 1706, contained that part of Cecil between the Sassafras and Chester Rivers. The first Courts of Baltimore County after 1659, were held on the Eastern Shore, as shown by the following fact:

A Seneca Indian was arrested for attempted robbery of the house of Mr. Ball, on Patapsco River. Mr. Ball sent him to Major Goldsmith, on Bush River, who sent him to the house of Francis Wright, living near North East River at Carpenter's Point, where a Court was held June 7th, 1674. Again, another Court was held at the house of Captain Thomas Howell, situated near Howell's Point in the present Cecil County; and further, Augustine Herman, of Bohemia Manor, was Justice of the Peace for Baltimore County. Where McGregor sat, there was the head of the table. Where the General gives orders, there are "Headquarters," and where the Court is held, that may be called "the Court House"; but we have evidence yet more direct:—A map published by John Thornton and Will Fisher, 1695 in London, presented to the Maryland Historical Society, by Wm. Snowden, of Birming-

ham House, Anne Arundel County (descendant of Col. John Snowden, who introduced Iron Smelting into Maryland), discloses "Baltimore Manor" between the North East and Elk Rivers, and the town of Baltimore on the Elk River, a few miles below the present site of Elkton. We feel, therefore, free to state, that the first Baltimore town between 1659 and 1674, was in Baltimore County, on the Eastern Shore, now Cecil County. We now proceed to

The Second Baltimore Town.

On August, 1875, while engaged in a Mission service, I was on my way to the lower end of Bush River Neck, in company with Mr. Benedict H. Keen, of Perrymansville. We had reached a row of large cedar trees on either side of the road, extending about 1000 feet in length. I was struck with their venerable appearance and their apparent isolation; no other similar trees being in the neighborhood. Immediately after passing this grove, my conductor, pointing to a field on the right, said, "we are now at Old Baltimore."

I looked over the moonlit field and descried as I thought, what seemed to be ruins, and I determined to give the subject further attention.

On investigation of Records, maps and other sources of information, I am able to announce that this field was the Original Baltimore.

Its locality is about seven miles south of Perrymansville, two miles southeast of the railroad bridge over Bush River, and four miles above the Chesapeake Bay. It is on an isthmus about a quarter of a mile wide between Bush River on the south, and Rumney Creek on the north.

It is remarkable that while the land between Old Baltimore and Perrymansville is very barren, that in the vicinity of Old Baltimore is reckoned among the most productive in Harford County. The present site is a clover field flanked by a corn field on the north.

The town was immediately on Bush River, commanding a noble view upwards to the railroad bridge and downwards to the

Chesapeake Bay, and an expanse of miles far superior to our present land-locked Basin.

The road from the north to the south, starting from a ferry over the Susquehanna just below the Havre de Grace railroad bridge, crossed Swan Creek, Mosquito Creek, the head of Rumney Creek to Old Baltimore; here at "Old House Point" there was a ferry over Bush River, and this was the grand travel-line between the Northern and Southern States.

In 1658, Baltimore County was established, including not only Harford, Cecil and Kent, but all the Western Shore north and northwest of Anne Arundel County. Baltimore County was divided into Hundreds. The site of our present Baltimore City was in Deptford Hundred (then Patapsco Hundred), Gunpowder, Middle River, and that part on Bush Neck up to the Susquehanna River was known as the "Baltimore Hundreds."

The "Hundreds" included so many able-bodied men, and their history would furnish a most interesting chapter extending back to their introduction into England by Alfred the Great, derived by him from Denmark, where they yet exist. "Old Baltimore" was, in 1674, "New Baltimore." It became old when its Court House was removed to Forster's Neck, on Gunpowder River, in 1700, at which time the ground probably reverted to the original proprietor, and has ever since been under cultivation.

"A pile without inhabitants to ruin runs;" besides this, neighbors do not hesitate to remove for their own use brick, stone and other available material. For these causes, one would not expect to find after more than a hundred years many traces of our venerable ancestor, but yet there is enough to identify the locality.

On entering the gate you see two log houses, such as are used by servants on a plantation. These seem to be very old. But what is more valuable, there is a well with its bucket, raised by a horizontal pole, at which the Old Baltimore servants gathered to draw their supplies.

In the centre of the clover field, there is a spot covered with alder bushes, and here may have been the Court House.

The wharf at "Old House Point" has long since decayed, leaving not a vestige, but the large stones which formed the abutment still are plainly seen.

In the eastern part of this field, there is a burial ground, in a grove of large walnut trees. The fence which surrounded the grove has been removed, but in the midst of the trees is a fine marble slab covered with moss, which, when removed disclosed the following epitaph:

"Beneath this stone is reposed the body of James Philips, and also in compliance with his dying request, the body of his wife, Martha Philips, daughter of John and Elizabeth Paca, born February 3d, 1744, married January 25th, 1776, died March 6th, 1829, having survived her husband twenty-six years.

May brightest seraphs from the world on high,
Spread their light pinions o'er thy sleeping tomb,
And guard the dust within. Till from the sky
The Savior comes to bid the dead re-bloom—
Then may they rise! Together meet their change
Together hear the plaudit "Rest, well done!
Through spheres of light and spheres of glory range
And sit with Jesus on his dazzling throne."

About a quarter of a mile to the north of this field, is the house of Mr. Richardson, proprietor of this property. The house is built of ancient brick; two-storied with very steep gables, and with a porch at its eastern front. This may probably have been the mansion of that day.

That so few traces should be left, is by no means remarkable. As soon as the hand of man is removed, nature begins to efface the traces of his sojourn, and what is strange, weeds, flowers and trees of a kind differing from the surrounding indigenous vegetation occupy the ground.

Some years ago, I paid a visit to the site of St. Mary's City, where was the State House, a Governor's house and other important buildings, but beside the grave yard there are very few traces even of the ruins. The venerable mulberry tree, under which Calvert is said to have landed, will soon be a tradition of the past; and there has been a burial ground in Cecil County

near Battle Swamp, once a part of Baltimore County, about which as little is known as of the ruins of ancient Troy. And thus with the relics of Old Baltimore.

Not satisfied with the investigations derived from Bacon's Laws and other fragmentary data, I sought all the maps in our three Baltimore libraries, but these were all too late, or if old enough, they seemed to miss the very point in question. It occurred to me to call on the librarian of the City Hall, and he stated to me that a stranger from Richmond had recently visited that building, and that on leaving, he had presented a map of Maryland and Virginia. This map contained what I wanted. Here is "Baltimore" at the junction of Bush River and the Chesapeake, there is no Joppa, and not a mark of our present Baltimore on the Patapsco.

This map was presented to the City Hall Library, by Dr. I. W. Anderson. It is entitled in French, "Map of Virginia and of Maryland, prepared on the grand English map of Messrs. Joshua Fry and Peter Jefferson, by the Sieur Robert de Vaugondy, official Geographer of the King," with copyright 1755.

It is remarkable that this was the very year of Braddock's defeat, and it suggests that the French King, emboldened by success, hoped to include under his dominion the English possessions of Maryland and Virginia. The fall of Quebec in 1759, decided that question.

On this map are marked two Indian camps, one at Little Cacapon, and the other at Cumberland, both in the then Baltimore County, and uncomfortably near the English possessions.

The location of Baltimore on Bush River, is further corroborated by Oglethorpe's map, by Herman's map of 1670, and another by Bowen in 1763.

The dates on the Philips tomb were long after the decadence of Old Baltimore in 1700. Where then was the burial place of the town?

Rev. S. W. Crampton, in 1851, published an account of St. George's Parish, in which he states, "The first Church stood near Michaelsville, at a place called 'Gravelly.' Here are the almost obliterated remains of the Log Church where the first founders of

this Parish worshipped, while the sunken graves on every side mark their last earthly resting places. A bridge near this locality called 'Church Bridge,' corroborates this evidence."

In the journal of Freeborn Garretson in 1809, we read, "I preached in a church on Bush River Neck near the Chesapeake Bay, and not a mile from the place where I was born and within half a mile of where I believe the first church in Maryland was built."

I visited this place, and am satisfied that this log church is correctly placed by him; that it was the first church building of any kind in Baltimore County, organized about 1671, and that this burial ground three miles distant was that of Old Baltimore.

As the country became more settled and probably with a desire to reach a less miasmatic region, James Philips, Esq., the ancestor of the Philips already mentioned in the epitaph, gave in 1718, two acres of ground to the vestry of St. George's Parish, at what is now known as "Spesutia Church," and about that year, six years after the decadence of Old Baltimore, the remains of the dead with their tombstones were probably removed to the new burial ground about seven miles westwards.

The monuments in the Spesutia ground are of a historical character, representing generation after generation. Among the names I recognized, was that of Giles, a family recorded among the earliest settlers of Baltimore County. Edward Giles married Cordelia, daughter of James Philips.

There is belonging to the vestry of this parish a parchment Registry of births, marriages and deaths, and the first name recorded is John Cook, son of John Cook, born at Bush River, 25th September, 1681. The record of Vestry Acts is unfortunately lost.

Having defined the locality of Old Baltimore, I will now determine as near as possible its term of existence. In 1683, an Act of Assembly in Bacon's Laws, erects a Port of Trade on Bush River, on the town land near the Court House. The County was established in 1659, and the first Court House was on the Eastern Shore, until about 1674, when the second Court House was built on Bush River.

In 1707, the Assembly directed that the old Court House on Forster's Neck should be discontinued and a new Court House established at Taylor's Choice, known as Joppa. This act was disallowed by Queen Anne, and did not gain her sanction until 1712, when Joppa became the County town, where the Courts were held until, in 1768, Joppa surrendered to Baltimore. I have been unable to ascertain the precise date when old Baltimore yielded to the town on Forster's Neck. My conjecture of dates, subject to future correction, is as follows :—

1st, Baltimore in Cecil County, 1659 to 1674, 15 years,
2d, Old Baltimore from 1674 to about 1700, 26 years,
3d, Town on Forster's Neck from 1700 to 1712, 12 years,
4th, Joppa Court House from 1712 to 1768, 56 years,
5th, Baltimore Court House from 1768 to 1853, 75 years.

I made many inquiries as to Forster's Neck on the Gunpowder, but no one could give me any information. I found subsequently in Herman's map of 1670, "Forster's Creek," which doubtless was the site of the second Court House. This and Joppa are fit subjects for some future investigation.

Having defined the dates of our ancestral Baltimore, I propose to consider briefly some political and social features, relieving the tedium of dates by a little indulgence in the realms of fancy.

As I walked over the place where the original Baltimore once flourished, I thought of the Deserted Village, described by Goldsmith.

The Village School House.

Beside yon straggling fence that skirts the way,
With blossomed furze unprofitably gay,
There in his noisy mansion skilled to rule,
The village master taught his little school.
A man severe he was, and stern to view ;
I knew him well, and every truant knew ;
Well had the boding tremblers learned to trace
The day's disasters in his morning face ;
Full well they laughed, with counterfeited glee,
At all his jokes ; for many a joke had he ;
Full well the busy whisper, circling round,

Conveyed the dismal tidings when he frowned.
Yet he was kind; or, if severe in aught,
The love he bore to learning was in fault.
Lands he could measure, terms and tides presage,
And even the story ran that he could gauge.
But past is all his fame; the very spot
Where many a time he triumphed is forgot.

But to return from this excursion, I received a letter from a respectable physician, Dr. Geo. I. Hays, of Harford County, containing these particulars:

"The first house built in the present Harford County, was at Old Baltimore, by Wm. Osborne, on Old House Point, and in the old grave yard, his bones rest; the burial of the first white man.

"Osborne was a younger son: his family is as old as the present dynasty of England. The Osbornes led the Danes against William the Conqueror. They formed an alliance and Osborne with his family was to have a perpetual annuity. This the heir still receives, and the Osborne palace is still the abode of the Royal family. This I had from my grandmother Hollis, whose maiden name was Sarah Osborne, and from my great-aunt, Fanny Osborne, and history confirms it.

"Fanny Osborne often thrilled me when a child, with Osborne's adventures with the Indians, (Susquehannocks), who in one of their raids stole his oldest son. He and his retainers pursued the Indians across the Bay, but failed to recover him. This boy whom he never saw again, was kindly treated by his captors, and an old Chief, before the father died, told him that his lost son was living and had become a great Chief among the Red men. He subsequently was one of those Chiefs that signed the Treaty with Wm. Penn in 1682. The father never recovered from the loss of his boy, but died broken-hearted."

On examining the records of Spesutia Church, I find the names of James Osborne, a vestryman in 1743, and Benjamin Osborne, in 1753.

In the incident above related, are abundant materials for a novel, and perchance some future Kennedy may furnish us with "a tale of Old Baltimore."

I learn further from Dr. Hays, that the Osborne above men-

tioned was accompanied by Philip Philips, who attended to the ferry, which he afterwards purchased, and with this ferry he, at the same time, kept "refreshments for man and beast," and by his industry made a fortune. It must have been his son, Captain James Philips, who gave the land to Spesutia Church, and his great-grandson, James Philips, who married the daughter of John Paca, and sister of William Paca, signer of the Declaration of Independence, and Governor of Maryland.

In 1744, the vestry appointed Captain James Philips, Col. Thos. White, Captain Peregrine Frisbee and Richard Ruff, to acquaint the Governor of the death of Rev. Mr. Wilkinson, and ask him not to induct another minister disagreeable to the parishioners. This Col. White lived on the Dairy farm at the head of Bush River. He married a daughter of Col. Edward Hall, and their daughter married Aquila Hall. By a second marriage, Col. White had two children, William White, Bishop of Pennsylvania, and a daughter who married Robert Morris, the celebrated financier of the Revolution. Bishop White was chaplain to Congress, the pastor of George Washington, the Rector of Christ Church, Philadelphia, the bells of which chimed first on the 4th of July, 1776, and on every 4th of July since.

By the remarkable law of heredity, the peculiar diseases and tempers of ancestors descend to their children and remote descendants. Now it is well known, that our present city is liable to sundry extraordinary outbreaks. Can this be traced to our venerable ancestor? Certain it is, that Old Baltimore was cradled in storms, and had as many vicissitudes as could well be compressed in forty-one years.

In 1642, there was a general Indian war between the Potomac and Chesapeake, when probably Osborne lost his son. In 1645, Claiborne seized the Government of Maryland, driving Calvert to Virginia. Claiborne was suppressed and Calvert reinstated. In 1651, Stone, Calvert's Governor, was removed by Claiborne and others. He was restored the same year, but was again removed by Cromwell's Commissioners in 1654. In 1655, there was civil war terminating with the battle on the Severn when Stone was made prisoner. Fendall then became Governor, but on the resto-

ration of Charles II. in 1660, he was tried for treason. James II. by the writ of *quo warranto* tried to dispossess the proprietary in 1687.

When William and Mary ascended the throne in 1688, the Deputy Governor delayed to proclaim their authority, whereupon John Coode and his associates took possession of the Government. In 1691, the King made Maryland a Royal Province, and Lionel Copley was made Governor in 1692. But in 1715, the proprietary rights of Charles, Lord Baltimore, were restored to his grandson Charles, who was a Protestant, and was then fifteen years old.

But with all these vicissitudes, there was one yet to come—the culmination. The people in the southern and western part of Baltimore County wanted the county seat removed from Bush River. They wanted their own property enhanced in value, and then came remonstrances, indignation meetings, but all of no avail. Westward the course of empire takes its way, and Bush had to yield to the Gunpowder and Patapsco. Is it a wonder that we have inherited some of our ancestors' temperament?

Standing on Old House Point and seeing the cars crossing the railroad bridge, one can hardly realize that then the roads to Annapolis, to the County Court Houses and to the churches, were marked by notched trees. No regular Post was established until 1713, when the Sheriffs were required to deliver packages like prisoners into the hands of each other for distribution. Coal had not been introduced as yet for fuel, nor were stoves used in churches; chilly people taking with them foot stoves. Playing cards were used as visiting cards. There were no water-proofs, india-rubbers nor umbrellas until 1722. This last useful implement was regarded as a luxury, and would have been blown away with a storm of ridicule had not the medical faculty come to the rescue. A law of the Legislature compelled our ancestors to vote. There were no steamboats then. The nearest approach was the navigation of a canoe from the Susquehanna to our Basin, by turning a crank with a paddle wheel in 1784. The same year James Rumsey of Cecil County, obtained the privilege of propelling boats by steam, but this was long after the present

Baltimore was settled. The practice of eating and drinking at funerals at great expense was very common. Finger rings were the mark of a gentleman, and were bequeathed to dear friends. The bachelors of Baltimore County were taxed in 1760, when the names of the taxables were placed on the Spesutia Church door, to raise funds to fight the Indians. In this list, I observe the names of well-known citizens. Osborne, Garrettson, Gover, Lee, Webster, Wallis, Billingsley, Johns, Worthington, Love, Creswell, Hanson, Keen, Dallam, Bryarly, Giles.

Old Baltimore had no newspapers, the first Maryland Journal being the *Annapolis Gazette* in 1745. And yet our ancestors had their compensations in the abundance brought by the fisher and farmer. If they had trouble from the Indians, they had received from them the maize and the potato.

As I recently stood on "Old House Point," and saw in Bush River flocks of wild fowl, I thought of the abundance of fowl and fish in those days, when the gunner's and fisher's skill were less destructive, and when their dollar purchased five times the value of ours.

Science.

What was the condition of Science in the days of the first Baltimore Town, 1659? About that time the British Scientific Association held its meetings in the house of Bishop Wilkins. A belief in witchcraft was common. To avert a storm, certain voyagers seized an old woman for sorcery, and threw her into the sea; and Father White said, "the Captain saw a sunfish swimming with great efforts against the course of the sun, a sign of a terrible storm." There is a tradition, that a man was arrested for witchcraft near the present Reisterstown. Linnæus had not classified plants; De Candolle did not exist; Cuvier had not elevated zoölogy to a science; Franklin had not discovered the identity of lightning and electricity; Count Rumford had not found the equivalence of heat and motion; Priestly had not discovered oxygen, nor had Lavoisier raised chemistry to an exact science; Watt had not perfected his steam engine, nor Whitney thought of the cotton gin; all work was done by hand. Geology

was hardly known. Astronomy was as Newton left it. Herschel had not discovered Uranus, nor had Laplace invented the mathematics of that science.

The Susquehannock Indians, our aborigines, deserve more consideration than they have had. They exercised over other Indians the same authority as the Sioux of the present day. Their attacks on the Piscataways were so fierce that these last sold their lands to Lord Baltimore. And when the Sinnicos and Black Minguas came from Seneca Lake to trade, the Susquehannocks destroyed them. This warlike tribe occupied lands at the mouth of the Susquehanna, extending to the Sassafras and Chester Rivers, whence they easily raided the English settlement on Bush River. In Captain John Smith's map of 1606 is a picture of a Susquehannock warrior, with this curious description:

"They seemed like giants to the English. Their language sounds like a voice in a vault. One had a wolf's head hanging in a chain for a jewel. His tobacco pipe three-fourths of a yard long prettily carved with a bird or a deer at great end, sufficient to beat out one's brains. The calf of the chief's leg was three-fourths of a yard about, and all his limbs so proportionate, that he seemed the goodliest man we ever beheld. His hair on the one side was long, and the other shorne close like a coxe's comb. His arrows were five-fourths long, headed with the splinters of a white chrystal stone, like a heart an inch broad and one and one-half inches long; these he wore in a wolf's skin at his back for a quiver." These Indians made a treaty with Lord Baltimore on Spesutia Island.

On cutting down a grove of trees about 1860, on the Avenue in Mount Washington a grave was found by Mr. Pickering, under a large gum tree, which when opened discovered the skeleton of an Indian, together with an earthen jar. Was this the tomb of a Susquehannock chief? Did a long procession follow his body to the grave?

Augustine Herman, a Bohemian, was a distinguished Baltimore County man of that day, a representative of Holland in New Amsterdam (New York), and relative of Peter Stuyvesant. Herman established a post at the mouth of the Schuylkill, and Lord

Baltimore sent a force to dispossess him. He previously, in 1657, had a settlement on Staten Island, which was destroyed by the Raritan Indians. He then came to Kent Island, where he was entertained by Col. Wix, and met Governor Fendall and Philip Calvert, brother of Lord Baltimore, in reference to disputed boundaries. The English claimed priority of the Dutch, because Sir Walter Raleigh touched on the coasts in 1598. But, said Herman, "Columbus discovered America in 1492." "What," said Utie, the English agent, "had this to do with the claim of the Dutch?" Said Herman, "when the States-General became independent of Spain, they took with them all Spanish rights in America." Whereupon, Col. Utie threatened what he would do, if he came to speech with the Dutch authorities. "If you do," said Herman, "your character as an ambassador, shall not save you from arrest as a brawler and disturber of the peace."

Herman went to see the Governor of Virginia about the Maryland and Virginia boundary line, and being a man of science, was employed by the Maryland authorities to make a map of the Province. This map is a good specimen of engraving, and has been found useful in the same boundary dispute after two hundred years.

Herman's descendants were the Van der Heydens, Bordleys, Frisbies, Chews, Neals, Mifflins, Shippens, Jenningses, Randolphs and Howards. He received from Lord Baltimore six thousand acres as a manor, which he named "Bohemia," after his native land, and his name is yet perpetuated in Port Herman, Saint Augustine in Cecil County, and on a broken slab of oölite bearing this inscription :

AUGUSTINE HERMAN,
BOHEMIAN.
THE FIRST FOUNDER, SEATER OF BOHEMIA MANOR,
ANNO 1661.

I mention the name of Captain Thomas Cornwaleys, the Counsellor of Lord Baltimore, called by Bozman "the guardian genius of the Province," and by Streeter, "a Host in Himself."

Bringing with him from England a number of servants, he

received from Lord Baltimore, in 1642, three thousand acres of land in Cornwaleys' Neck, St. Mary's County, and on August 16th, 1658, in Kent County, on the east side of Bacon's Bay, one thousand acres known as "Cornwaleys' Choice," but previously on the 22nd March, 1658, he had received for transporting people from England in 1655, "Planter's Paradise," on Middle River Neck, in Baltimore County, containing eight hundred and twenty-nine acres. Shortly after 1659, he left for England.

The Legislature of 1684, authorized a Port or Town in Middle River on the "land of Cornwaleys or Leakin," repealed by the Act of 1686.

The same "Planter's Paradise" was surveyed for "William Cornwaleys of Baltimore County, Gentleman," on the 29th of November, 1679. This was probably the son of Thomas, the land beginning at the mouth of Cornwaleys Creek. In 1701, we find a conveyance from John Leakin to James Crook of "land named Turkey Neck on Middle River, laid out for Captain Thomas Cornwaleys."

On November 6th, 1730, Cornwaleys being dead and his heirs in England, "Planter's Paradise" was again surveyed and the land escheated by Stansbury, called "Rosse's Manor," and patented 26th January, 1749.

I have been thus particular because the residence of this family in Baltimore County has been unknown—a lost history, and that it may induce others to investigate further the biography of one who was a brave soldier, a wise statesman, an unsullied citizen, an honor to any State or to any country!

In 1659, Baltimore County was established. In what county then was "Planter's Paradise" on Middle River given to Captain Cornwaleys, in 1658? Did Anne Arundel County, established in 1650, include Baltimore County during the years 1650 and 1659?

We read in the Archives of Maryland, that Captain Thomas Todd was a commissioner of Anne Arundel County in 1661, and a delegate to the Legislature in 1674 from Baltimore County.

The survival of the fittest applies to towns as much as to vegetables and animals. An American progressive city must have room to expand. It must have streams of sufficient fall for

manufacturing purposes, and a full supply of pure water, and there must be building material: clay, limestone, sand, granite, iron in abundance.

The restless migratory genius of Baltimore sought these requisites on the Elk River, then on the Bush River, then westward to the Gunpowder, which she twice tried, and at last the divining rod rested on the banks of the Patapsco.

THE TUESDAY CLUB OF ANNAPOLIS.

Of the various clubs which were a characteristic feature of Annapolis society in the palmy days of that ancient and once convivial city, the Tuesday Club, which flourished in the middle of the eighteenth century was the most famous. It numbered among its members some of the most brilliant men of the day, and admission to its fellowship was an honor highly prized.

There is extant a so-called History of this club in three MS. volumes, written by Dr. Alexander Hamilton, a distinguished physician and wit. This is, however, not an authentic chronicle, but a humorous mock-history in the style of Swift; the members being designated by fictitious names; Dr. Hamilton, for instance, being "Loquacious Scribble, Esq." How far the incidents here gravely recorded may have had any foundation in actual occurrences, and how far they are merely grotesque inventions, cannot now be known. As the History covers over 1900 very closely written pages, it must have occupied considerable portions of the writer's leisure for several years. It is embellished with pictorial illustrations, and with many club-songs, scored for voice and harpsichord. The language is fine eighteenth century English, and the style an excellent specimen of the grave burlesque.

The title runs:

"History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club from the Earliest Ages down to this present year.

"Autor noster ita describit Heroas [Clubicos] ut incertus haereat Lecter an eruditi magis, fortesve essent, corporisque potius aut animi viribus pollerent."

The author, after preliminary chapters on history, on antiquity, and on clubs of ancient times, comes down to the venerable Tuesday (or Whin-bush) Club of Lannerie in Scotland, the records of which, he says, go back to the year 1440. From this the Annapolis club descended in the following manner :—

Mr. George Neilson, a prominent member of the club, took up arms in the Jacobite rising in 1715, and having been taken prisoner at Sheriffmuir, was deported to America, and fixed his residence at Annapolis.* Here he found clubs, but constituted and conducted in a manner which he did not approve, being too much devoted to drinking and gormandizing, and also ruled in too arbitrary a fashion. These defects he hoped in time to reform. Having succeeded in gathering round him a small band of followers, Mr. Neilson endeavored to introduce some of his reforms into a Royalist club, but this attempt led to an explosion, in which he was ignominiously ejected, with considerable damage to his person and apparel. He therefore gathered his adherents, and producing a commission from the Tuesday Club of Lannerie, empowering him to establish daughter clubs, founded the Red-house Club on more intellectual and democratic principles.

The club-house was destroyed by lightning in 1732, and Mr. Neilson's death occurring shortly after, led to the dissolution of the club. A successor sprang up in the Ugly Club, which, however, was rent with faction and soon expired. Two leading men of this club then founded in 1725 the Tuesday Club under the original commission, constituting it in all respects so like the mother-club of Lannerie, that it became, in effect, that very club transported to America; and of this Dr. Hamilton constituted himself the historian.

While, no doubt, much of the wit and satire lacks, for us, the pungency which it had for the writer's friends, it is still a very

* In a list of rebel prisoners, "mostly Scotchmen," sent to Maryland in 1716, occurs the name of George Neilson.

amusing production. As a specimen of this curious work, we subjoin the third chapter of the tenth book, premising that an uproar has broken out in the club, owing to the disappearance of the Seal, which the President is suspected of having secreted for sinister purposes.

Chap. III.

Effects of the Commotion and Uproar in the Club, and the Decathedration of His Lordship.

Rage and fury, when their approaches are sudden and impetuous, are very dangerous affections of the mind. They, as it were, dilacerate the soul, and devest it of its noble faculties, tossing them about and flinging them away like useless rags. These boisterous passions are enemies sworn to mankind, and it is even dangerous for good advice to approach too near them. The poet Ovid was very sensible of this, which made him give the following counsel:

Dum furor in cursu est, currenti cede furori:
Difficiles aditus impetus omnis habet.
Stultus ab obliquo qui cum discedere possit,
Pugnat in adversas ire natator aquas.

The Chancellor, as has been related in the foregoing chapter, was enraged to such a degree that most of the members kept aloof from him, esteeming it a very dangerous attempt to come within his reach, for he was in such agitation that he resembled an Infernal fury more than a human Creature; his long crane-like neck was stretched out to its utmost extent, his mouth, as he uttered his words, gaped horrendous, and seemed to belch forth fire like the mouth of a furnace; his countenance was pale and wan, and his eyes staring and flaring like two burning candles, while his fists were clenched hard, which he balanced and poised on both sides, ready to give the decisive blow, and his feet stamped on the planks of the floor at each elevation of his voice, which was, indeed, a semitone above E la, and made all the concavities, cuddies, and chambers of the High Steward's house resound like the hollow belly of a great bass fiddle. The

High Steward, Prim Timorous, Esq., was in the utmost consternation and terror, and forgetting his office of serjeant-at-arms, and throwing aside his white rod of authority, he betook himself for protection behind his Lordship's chair of state, and would now and then slily peep at the Chancellor, from one side of the canopy now, and then from the other, according as the Chancellor changed his place or situation on the floor, for that furious Incendiary, while he delivered his seditious speech, did not stand stock still, but walked about like a peripatetic.

During this furious ecstasy of the Chancellor, and consternation of the Long-standing members, his Honor the President was fixed, like a monument of marble, in the Chair; he moved neither to one side nor to the other, but, like one in a catalepsy, seemed to have nothing left about him but the faculty of breathing, all the other parts of his corporal frame, viz.: muscles, eyes, hands, being fixed and immovable as one thunderstruck or under some strange diabolical fascination or incantation.

While affairs were in this alarming situation, and the fire of Rebellion, like an impetuous flame confined within a close chamber, was ready to burst forth every moment, and carry the whole edifice before it, Huffman Snap and the Secretary endeavored to mitigate the rage of the Chancellor, and persuade his Lordship to deliver up the Seal; but it was too late: the first, through the violence of Rage, was deaf to all entreaties, the other, through astonishment, was rendered incapable of listening to any overtures or proposals.

Upon this, the majority of the Club were absolutely determined, since the Seal could not by fair means be made forthcoming, to use force to recover that valuable badge of office. Huffman Snap swore d— him if it was not an impudent imposition on the Club to rob them of their Great Seal, and that such an Insult ought not to be suffered. "Why do you suffer it then?" replied the inflamed Chancellor. "Why don't you immediately seize upon this Tyrant of your setting up, and pull him down again, since he knows not how to rule with moderation? Come on—I will lead the way—I will give the word, and let every staunch member here use his utmost endeavor by main force to detect the thief."

These words were no sooner uttered than the whole room was in an uproar; the decanters, bowls, and glasses were overset upon the great table; the tobacco pipes, tobacco, and Clubical papers flew about like straw or dust in a whirlwind; a horrid clamor and uproar was excited, and the din of mingling voices and most unmerciful thumps, discharged with angry violence upon the backs, bellies, shoulders, and rumps of the Long-standing members made a rustling and rattling and whizzing in the air, much like that confused noise excited at the general conflict of the Greeks and Trojans which Homer, in the following passage, beautifully describes.

[Extract from Homer.]

This might be properly said of the horrid din and danger that was now excited among the Long-standing members of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club. The Chancellor and his forces had now advanced toward the centre of dominion or the seat of honor, to wit, his Lordship's great Chair of State, and made a formal attack upon it, besetting it on all sides, having first, like a skillful general, dispatched the forlorn hope, viz., Huffman Snap, and Solo Neverout, Esqrs., to assault the Chair upon the dexter and sinister sides. Huffman Snap, Esq., took the dexter quarter of his Lordship, and Solo Neverout, Esq., seized upon the sinister quarter. They began the attack first by seizing on and securing his Lordship's arms, which with one fist on each side they pinned down fast to the arms of the Chair, and each with his other hand attacked the dexter and sinister pockets of his Lordship to search and rummage for the great Seal. His Lordship, recovering from his astonishment, threw a tremendous look, first on one side, and then on the other, and asked the two Champions in a precipitate manner, and with a surprised tone of voice, if they intended to rob him? but they made no answer, continuing still their search, while the Chancellor spurred them on with inflammatory speeches, commanding them to fight like Lions for their liberty and property. His Lordship then began to struggle most violently and to lay about

him to the right and to the left, as lustily as he was able, and had like to have knocked down and discomfited his left-hand antagonist. In this scuffle his Lordship had his ruffles torn in a most lamentable manner, and the posture of his wig was altered much for the worse, having the tail turned foremost: however, his Lordship still kept his seat, and would not suffer himself to be moved one Inch to one side or the other. Upon this, the general attack was renewed with greater fury: there was a general cry among the Long-standing members, and nothing was heard but, "Burn the Chair!" "Burn the canopy!" "Burn the Seal!"—on which the Secretary was advancing toward the fire to throw the book in the midst of devouring flames, and commit to oblivion in one moment all the transactions of this ancient and honorable Club, when the wisdom and discretion of Jealous Spyplot Senr. Esq., prevented this dreadful Calamity, for he, perceiving the Secretary's design, pulled him back, and seizing the book out of his hands, took it into his own care and protection.

Then Quirpum Comic, Esq., having beat Prim Timorous, Esq., from his station behind the Chair, took off the Canopy of State and was approaching toward the fire to commit it to the flames, when he was stopped by Jonathan Grog, Esq., who with heroic intrepidity rescued the Ensign of State from the destroyer, and disposed of it in a private corner out of the way of danger. Prim Timorous, Esq., Serjeant-at-Arms and High Steward, was thrown into such a terrible panic that he swore several times over, "God—bless the King!" and ran and hid himself in some private corner so that he was not seen again on the field till the battle was over. He was afterwards much blamed for his conduct by his Lordship, who told him that he had behaved, not only unworthy of his office as Serjeant-at-Arms, and beneath the dignity of a High Steward, but also utterly neglected his duty as a county magistrate in not commanding the peace during the outrage and insult; but most excused him on this occasion, as knowing him to be of a mild and fearful disposition.

His Lordship still keeping his seat with unshaken Intrepidity, the Chancellor, fearing that the Destinies would turn the scale against him, gave orders for a fresh attack, calling out to the

Long-standing members to take courage and not lose spirits, on which the uproar and hurlyburly increased to a great degree. Quirpum Comic, Esq., one of the principal heroes in the opposition, seeing that it was but labor in vain to move his Lordship from his seat by tugging and pulling, went behind the Chair, and with his brawny fist fetched several violent hard blows under the Bottom of it, which being made of pliant stuff, viz., canvas and leather, stuff'd with hair, gave such a strong concussion and repercussion to his Lordship's buttock, that he rebounded at least half a foot from the seat at each blow, and was obliged to quit his Chair of State, rushing precipitately from the step, and falling upon one knee; but soon again recovering himself, notwithstanding the uninterrupted thumps and blows of the enemy, he ran with precipitation to the fire, and to the great astonishment and surprise of every person present, who imagined that his Lordship, in the height of his frenzy and desperation, was going to sacrifice his own carcass to the devouring flames, he threw the Great Seal into the middle of the fire, and rammed it down into the hottest part with his foot, while Quirpum Comic, Esq., threw the Chair of State over his Lordship's head, which pitched into the fire at the same instant with the Great Seal. There was immediately a most furious scramble to save these two precious ensigns of the Club from immediate destruction, and Huffman Snap, Esq., dexterously snatched the Great Seal from the danger it was in, of being consumed to ashes, and with a low bow, put it into the Chancellor's hand who received it with a loud halloo of victory, and Tunbelly Bowser, Esq., at the same instant rescued the Chair of State from the fatal combustion with which it was threatened. His Lordship stood now in the middle of the floor, very much astonished, and seemed to be quite disabled and out of breath, and loud peals of victory from the Chancellor's party rang through the room.

THE BROOKE FAMILY.

A pedigree of this family, taken from the *Hampshire Visitation* of 1634, and including the Maryland emigrant Robert Brooke, is published in Berry's *Hampshire Genealogies*, p. 339. The arms of the family, as entered in the *Visitation*, are as follows:—

Arms.—Chequy or and az., on a bend gu. a lion passant of the first.
Crest.—A demi lion rampant or, erased gu.

1. Richard Brooke[1] of Whitchurch, Hampshire, married in 1552 Elizabeth sister and heir of John Twyne. His will, dated 10 January 1588/9 and confirmed 16 February 1590/1, was proved 6 May 1594. The will of his widow Elizabeth, dated 16 May 1599, was proved 2 June 1599. Both wills are on record at Somerset House, London. A brass, erected in the Church at Whitchurch by their youngest son Robert Brooke, records that Richard Brooke died 16 January 1593/4, after forty-one years of wedded life, and that his widow Elizabeth died 20 May 1599.

Richard Brooke and Elizabeth (Twyne) his wife had issue:—

2. i. Thomas Brooke.[2]
ii. Richard Brooke, d. s. p.
iii. Robert Brooke of London.
iv. Elizabeth Brooke.
v. Barbara Brooke.
vi. Dorothy Brooke.

2. Thomas Brooke[2] (*Richard*[1]) was born in 1561. He matriculated 24 Nov. 1581 at New College, Oxford, his age being given as twenty years in the Matriculation Register, and received the degree of B. A. 4 May 1584. He was a barrister and was of the Inner Temple 1595, bencher 1607, and autumn reader 1611. He was Member of Parliament for Whitchurch 1604–1611 (Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*). He married Susan daughter of Sir Thomas Foster, Knt., of Hunsdon, Herts, Judge of the Common Pleas, and Susan his wife, daughter of Thomas Foster, Esq., of St. John Street, London. Mrs. Susan Brooke was therefore a sister of Sir Robert Foster, Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who died in 1663. A pedigree of this family, tracing its descent from

the Forsters of Etherstone, in Northumberland, may be found in the Harleian Society's Publications, vol. xxii (*Visitation of Herts*), p. 43, and in Raine's *History of North Durham*, p. 306. The will of Thomas Brooke, dated 11 Sept. 1612, was proved 30 November following. He was buried at Whitchurch 17 Sept. 1612, and his wife Susan the following day (Whitchurch Register). A marble tomb, upon which their sculptured figures lie side by side, is still to be seen in the Church at Whitchurch.

Thomas Brooke and Susan (Foster) his wife had issue :—

i. THOMAS BROOKE,[3] eldest son and heir, b. 1599. Matriculated, Oriel Coll., Oxford, 27 Oct. 1615, aged 16. A barrister-at-law. Buried at Whitchurch 25 Jan. 1665.
ii. RICHARD BROOKE, d. s. p.
3. iii. ROBERT BROOKE, b. 3 June 1602.
iv. JOHN BROOKE, b. 1605. Matriculated, Wadham Coll., Oxford, 11 May 1621, aged 16.
v. WILLIAM BROOKE.
vi. HUMPHREY BROOKE.
vii. CHARLES BROOKE.
viii. SUSAN BROOKE.
ix. ELIZABETH BROOKE.
x. FRANCES BROOKE.

3. ROBERT BROOKE[3] (*Thomas*[2], *Richard*[1]) was born, according to his family record "at London, 3rd June 1602, being Thursday, between 10 and 11 of the clock in the forenoon, being Corpus Christi day." He matriculated at Wadham College, Oxford, 28 April 1618, receiving the degree of B. A. 6 July 1620, and that of M. A. 20 April 1624 (Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses*). A manuscript copy of the *Visitation of Hampshire* (1634) in the British Museum has under his name the note "this Robert is a minister." He thus records his first marriage: "Mary Baker, born at Battel in Sussex. Robert Brooke and Mary Baker intermarried 1627, the 25th of February, being St. Matthias' Day and Shrove Monday." This lady was the daughter of Thomas Baker of Battle, Esq., Barrister-at-law, and Mary his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Engham of Goodneston, Kent. A pedigree of the Baker family, as entered at the Visitation of 1634, is published in Berry's *Sussex Genealogies*. Mary Baker died in 1634, probably at the birth of her daughter Barbara, and her husband, Robert Brooke, re-married the following year. "May the 11th, 1635, Robert Brooke (aforementioned) was married to Mary, second daughter to Roger Mainwaring, Doctor of Divinity & Dean of Worcester, wh: Mary was born at St,

Giles-in-the-Fields, London." Roger Mainwaring, the father of Robert Brooke's second wife, subsequently became Bishop of St. David's, and came into collision with Parliament through his over zealous advocacy of the royal prerogative. Robert Brooke arrived in Maryland 30 June 1650, with his (second) wife Mary, his ten children, Baker, Thomas, Charles, Roger, Robert, John, William, Francis, Mary, and Anna Brooke, and twenty-eight servants, all transported at his own cost and charge (Md. Land Office, Lib. 1, fol. 165–166 ; Davis' *Day Star*, p. 74). With his two sons Baker and Thomas, he took the oath of fidelity to the Proprietary, 22 July 1650 (Md. Archives, iii, 256). A commission had been issued to him, dated at London, 20 Sept. 1649, as commander of a county to be newly erected, and he had also a separate commission of the same date as member of the Council of Maryland. He took the oath of office in the latter capacity 22 July 1650 (Md. Archives, iii, 237, 240, 256). A new county, called Charles County, was duly erected and Robert Brooke was constituted its commander, 30 October 1650 (Md. Archives, iii, 259). When Maryland was reduced, in 1652, by the Parliamentary Commissioners, he was placed at the head of the provisional council instituted by them, and served in this capacity from 29 March until 3 July 1652 (Md. Archives, iii, 271–276). He was a member of council and commander of Charles County until 3 July 1654, when an order was passed revoking his commissions and nullifying the act erecting the county, in place of which a new county was erected, called Calvert County (Md. Archives, iii, 308). According to the Brooke family record: "He was the first that did seat the Patuxent, about twenty miles up the river at De la Brooke, and had one son there, born in 1651, called Basil, who died the same day. In 1652 he removed to Brooke Place, being right against De la Brooke; and on the 28th of November, 1655, between 3 & 4 o'clock in the afternoon, had two children, Eliza and Henry, twins. He departed this world the 20th day of July 1655, and lieth buried at Brooke Place Manor; and his wife, Mary Brooke, departed this life the 29th November 1663." The careful family record kept by Robert Brooke names a number of relatives who served as god-parents to his children, and furnishes abundant evidence as to his connection with the English parent stock. This interesting family record is published in Tyler's *Memoir of Roger Brooke Taney* (pp. 22–25), where by an accidental

omission the death of Robert Brooke is placed in 1663. The date is correctly given in manuscript copies preserved by the family.

Robert Brooke and Mary (Baker) his first wife had issue:—

4. i. Baker Brooke,[4] b. 16 Nov. 1628; d. 1679.
ii. Mary Brooke, b. 19 Feb. 1630; d. in England.
5. iii. Thomas Brooke, b. 23 June 1632; d. 1676.
iv. Barbara Brooke, b. 1634; d. in England.

By his second wife, Mary Mainwaring, Robert Brooke had issue:—

i. Charles Brooke, b. 3 April 1636; d. unmarried 1671.
6. ii. Roger Brooke, b. 20 Sept. 1637; d. 8 April 1700.
7. iii. Robert Brooke, b. 21 April 1639; d. 1667.
iv. John Brooke, b. 20 Sept. 1640; d. 1677; mar. Rebecca Isaac but seems to have had no issue.
v. Mary Brooke, b. 14 April 1642.
vi. William Brooke, b. 1 Dec. 1643.
vii. Ann Brooke, b. 22 Jan. 1645; mar. Christopher Beans.
viii. Francis Brooke, b. 30 May 1648; d. unmarried 1671.
ix. Basil Brooke, b. 1651; d. an infant.
x. Henry Brooke (twin), b. 28 Nov. 1655; d. unmarried 1672.
xi. Elizabeth Brooke (twin), b. 28 Nov. 1655; mar., before 1679, Richard Smith, Jr., of Calvert County.

4. Baker Brooke[4] (*Robert,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]) was born at Battle, in Sussex, 16 Nov. 1628, and arrived in Maryland with his father 30 June 1650. He was commissioned a member of the council of Maryland 6 May 1658 (Md. Archives, iii, 342) and held the office until his death in 1679. He also filled the position of Surveyor General of the Province from 1 August 1671 (Md. Archives, v, 94) until his death. About 1664 he married Ann, daughter of Governor Leonard Calvert and niece of Cecilius Lord Baltimore. In 1661 William Calvert recovered land as the son and heir of Gov. Leonard Calvert in an action of ejectment brought against Thomas Stone (Lib. S., fol. 459), and in 1664 Gov. Charles Calvert writes to his father Cecilius that his cousin William Calvert's sister has arrived and that he is on the lookout for a good match for her (Calvert Papers I, 244, 247). Baker Brooke in his commission as Surveyor General is called by Lord Baltimore "our trusty and well beloved nephew" (Md. Archives, v, 94), and in his will designates Philip Calvert as the uncle of his wife Ann. Baker Brooke was in no way related to Lord Baltimore and could thus only have been his nephew by marriage, while Lord Baltimore and Philip Calvert had no other niece than the daughter of their brother Leonard.

The will of Baker Brooke is dated 19 March 1679 and was proved seven days later, on the 26th of the same month (Annapolis, Lib. 10, fol. 1). In it he mentions his wife Ann; his sons Charles, Leonard, and Baker; his daughter Mary Brooke; and his brother Col. Thomas Brooke, deceased. His wife is appointed executrix, and "her uncle Philip Calvert, Esq.," overseer. His wife, Ann, survived him and married 2ndly Henry Brent (d. 1693), and 3dly Richard Marsham (d. 1713).

Baker Brooke and Ann (Calvert, his wife) had issue:—

i. Charles Brooke, d. unmarried 1698.
8. ii. Leonard Brooke, d. 1718.
9. iii. Baker Brooke, d. 1698.
iv. Mary Brooke, mar. Raphael Neale (b. 1683; d. 1743) of Charles County. She d. 1763.

5. Maj. Thomas Brooke[4] (*Robert*,[3] *Thomas*,[2] *Richard*[1]) was born at Battle, 23 June 1632, and arrived in Maryland with his father 30 June 1650. He was commissioned, 15 June 1658, Captain commanding the militia of Calvert County "from George Reade's on the south side and St. Leonard's Creek on the north side to the head of Patuxent River" (Md. Archives, iii, 256), and was commissioned Major, 11 Feb. 1660 (*ibid.* p. 402). In the will of his brother Baker he is styled "Colonel Thomas Brooke," but no commission to that effect appears upon record. He represented Calvert County in the Provincial Assembly 1663–1666 (Md. Archives, i, 460; ii, 8), and 1671–1676 (*ibid.* ii, 239, 311, 496, &c.) and was High Sheriff of the County 1666–1667 (Md. Archives, iii, 541; v, 3) and 1668–1669 (*ibid.* v, 27; Lib. C. D., fol. 403). He was Presiding Justice of the County Court in 1667 (Md. Archives, v, 14), and held the position until his death, except during his term of office as Sheriff. He married, about 1658, Eleanor daughter of Richard and Margaret Hatton and niece of Thomas Hatton, Secretary of the Province. She was born in 1642 (Md. Archives, x, 356) and came to Maryland with her widowed mother and her family in 1649 (Land Office, Lib. 1, fol. 440; Lib. 2, fol. 613).

The will of Maj. Thomas Brooke, dated 25 October 1676, was proved 29 December following (Annapolis, Lib. 5, fol. 123). In it he mentions his wife Eleanor; his children as given below; his brothers Baker and Roger Brooke, and Clement Hill; and his god-sons Baker Brooke, Jr., and Thomas Gardiner. Two hogsheads of tobacco apiece are left

to Mr. Michael Foster and Mr. Henry Carew, priests, "in token that I die a Roman Catholic & desire the good Prayers of the Church for my Soul." Mrs. Eleanor Brooke, widow of Maj. Thomas, married secondly Col. Henry Darnall (d. 17 June, 1711) and had issue by him also. In her will (dated 31 March 1724, proved 21 Feb. 1725) she mentions her sons Thomas Brooke, Clement Brooke, and Henry Darnall; her daughters Mary Witham, Eleanor Digges (wife of William Digges), Mary Carroll, and Ann Hill; and her grandsons Henry and Philip Darnall, sons of her daughter Eleanor Digges.

Maj. Thomas Brooke and Eleanor (Hatton) his wife had issue:—

10. i. Col. Thomas Brooke,[5] b. about 1659.
ii. Robert Brooke, 24 Oct. 1663; d. 18 July 1714; a Jesuit priest.
iii. Ignatius Brooke, b. 1670; entered the Society of Jesus 1697; d. 1751.
iv. Matthew Brooke, b. 1672; entered the Society of Jesus 1699; d. 1762.
11. v. Clement Brooke, b. 1676; d. 1737.
vi. Mary Brooke, mar. 1° Capt. James Bowling (d. 1693) of St. Mary's Co., 2° Benjamin Hall (d. 1721) of Prince George's Co., 3° Henry Witham.
vii. Eleanor Brooke, mar. 1° Philip Darnall (d. 1705), son of her step-father Col. Henry Darnall by a former marriage, 2° William Digges.

6. Roger Brooke[4] (*Robert*,[3] *Thomas*,[2] *Richard*[1]) was born 20 Sept. 1637 at Brecknock College, in Wales, the episcopal residence of his maternal grandfather, the Bishop of St. David's, after whom he was named, and came to Maryland with his parents in his thirteenth year. He lived at Battle Creek, in Calvert County. He was one of the Justices of the County from 1674 to 1684, and was of the Quorum from 1679 to 1684 (Md. Archives, xv, 37, 68, 71, 268, 327, 395). He was commissioned High Sheriff 18 April 1684 (Lib. C. D., fol. 396) and served until 30 May 1685, when he was again commissioned one of the Quorum (Md. Archives, xvii, 379). Roger Brooke was twice married. His first wife was Dorothy, daughter of Capt. James Neale, who mentions, in his will, his three grandchildren, Roger, James, and Dorothy Brooke. His second wife was Mary, daughter of Walter Wolseley, Esq., and granddaughter of Sir Thomas Wolseley of Staffordshire. She was also the niece of Anne Wolseley, the first wife of Philip Calvert. Her cousin Mrs. Helen Spratt, widow of Thomas Spratt, D. D., Bishop of Rochester, thus speaks of her in a letter dated 18 August 1724: "My cousin Mary Wolseley went to our Aunt Calvert and was married from her house to one Mr. Brooks. I have letters I had from her too,

for I sent her a suit of laced child bed linen as a present, such as was then in fashion. Her father's name was Walter Wolseley, Esq. He was my grandfather Sir Thomas Wolseley's son, elder brother to my father, of Wolseley Bridge in Staffordshire." Her aunt Mrs. Winifred Mullett mentions her in her will (dated 20 April 1685, proved 9 Jan. 1693) as "my niece Mary Brooke" and appoints her executrix.

The will of Roger Brooke, dated 5 April 1700, and proved 3 May following (Annapolis, Lib. 6, fol. 384), mentions his sons Roger, James, John, and Basil, and his daughter "Ann Daking." He died 8 April 1700, and his son Roger Brooke, Jr., makes the following entry in his family record: "My father Mr. Roger Brooke Sen^{r} second Sone to Robert Brooke Esq^{r} By Mary his second Wife Departed this life y^{e} 8th of April 1700 and Lyes Buried in y^{e} grave yard at his own plantation at Battell Creeke Between his wives y^{e} first was Mrs. Dorothy Neale and y^{e} second Mrs. Mary Wolseley: whaire lyes Buried two Daughters by his second wife: Cassandra and Mary, and my eldest Sone Roger Brooke who departed this life the 28th Day of May 1705 in y^{e} second yere of his age."

Roger Brooke and Dorothy (Neale) his first wife had issue:—

12. i. Roger Brooke,[5] b. 12 April 1673; d. 1718.
ii. James Brooke, d. s. p. before 1709.
iii. Dorothy Brooke, b. 1678; d. 1730; mar. 1° Michael Taney (d. 1702), 2° Richard Blundell (d. 1705), 3° Col. John Smith (d. 1717).

By his second wife, Mary Wolseley, Roger Brooke had issue:—

13. i. John Brooke, b. 1687; d. 1735.
ii. Basil Brooke, d. s. p. 1711.
iii. Ann Brooke, mar. 1° James Dawkins (d. 1701), 2° James Mackall (d. 1717). She d. 1733.
iv. Cassandra Brooke, d. young.
v. Mary Brooke, d. young.

7. Robert Brooke[4] (*Robert*,[3] *Thomas*,[2] *Richard*[1]) was born in London, 21 April 1639, and died in Calvert County, Maryland, in the latter part of 1667. He married Elizabeth, daughter of William Thompson of St. Mary's County, and, 10 Nov. 1667, "Elizabeth widow of Robert Brooke late of Calvert County, Gent., deceased" gave bond for the administration of her husband's estate with James Thompson and Thomas Edwards as her sureties (Test. Proc. Lib. 2, fol. 261, 437, &c.) The nuncupative will of her father William Thompson, dated 21 Jan. 1660, commits the administration

of testator's estate to his wife and appoints his father-in-law, William Bretton, overseer on behalf of his children. The will was proved by his widow, Mary Thompson, 3 March 1660, on the attestation of Lieut. Col. John Jarboe, Walter Pakes, and Frances Pakes, wife of the latter (Annapolis, Lib. 1, fol. 123). The children of William Thompson are not named in his will, but the following extract from the Rent Roll of St. Mary's County affords evidence as to the parentage of Mrs. Elizabeth Brooke. "KOAXES, 200 acres, surv^{d} 28 June 1658 for W^{m} Thompson on the W. side of Bretton's Bay. This land is Res^{d} into Hopton Park, but Robert Brooke as son of the daughter of said Thompson claims it." Before 1671, Elizabeth, widow of Robert Brooke, married Thomas Cosden. Charles Brooke, of Brooke Place, Calvert County, brother of Robert, mentions in his will (dated 29 May, proved 15 Dec. 1671) his nephews and niece, Robert, William, and Mary Brooke, the children of his brother Robert, their mother, and their father-in-law, Thomas Cosden (Annapolis, Lib. 1, fol. 459).

Robert Brooke and Elizabeth (Thompson) his wife had issue:—

14. i. ROBERT BROOKE,[5] d. 1715/6.
ii. WILLIAM BROOKE.
iii. MARY BROOKE.

(*To be Continued.*)

NOTES.

WILL OF RICHARD BENNETT, JR.

The last Will and Testament of Richard Bennett Ju^{r}
Imprimis I give and bequeath my Soul to God that gave it and my body to the Earth to be decently buried.
My temporall estate to be disposed of as followeth viz^{t}
I give and bequeath unto my dearly beloved wife Henrietta Maria Bennett (all my Lawfull Debts and Legacys being paid) my whole Estate both reall and personall that is to say all Lands tenem^{ts} and hereditaments as likewise all Goods Chattells Moveables Debts or other Dues whatsoever to me belonging but if it

shall please allmighty God to give her a Child within nine months after my decease then that Child either Male or female at lawfull age shall inheritt all Lands Tenements or hereditaments that are or may be belonging unto me with five nigroe Slaves three white Servants tenn Cowes and a bull fifteen Ewes and a Ram five Sowes and a boar two feather bedds with appurtenances valued at four thousand pounds of Tobacco and other house hold Stuff as bed Linnen, Table Linnen potts and Kettles to the Value of four thousand more and tenn Thousand pounds of Principle good tobacco in Caske, My dear Wife enjoying my whole Estate as aforesaid till the said Childs Lawfull age. And to my Cousin John Langley I give four hundred acres of Land called the ffolly Lying on the North Side of Turnep Creek in Sassafrax River. And my honoured father M^{r} Richard Bennett with my wife's father Cap^{n} James Neale and my dear wife as afores^{d} may be Executors and Executrix to see this my Will executed. In testimony hereof I have sett to my hand & Seal the 29th January 1665/6.

Ri : Bennett [Seale]

Witnesses
Daniel Silvane
John Bristo

The within Written Will and testament of Richard Bennett was by Daniel Silvane and John Bristo Wittnesses to the said Will proved this 6 May 1667 before me

(Annapolis, Lib. 1, fol. 278) Charles Calvert.

Richard Bennett, Jr., the testator, was the son of Richard Bennett, for many years a member of the Council of Virginia, its Governor from 1653 to 1655, and one of the Commissioners appointed by Parliament in 1651 for the reduction of Virginia and Maryland. Richard Bennett, Jr., married Henrietta Maria, daughter of Capt. James Neale of Charles County, who had been a member of the Council of Maryland and Treasurer of the Province. They had two children, a son and a daughter. The daughter, Susanna Bennett, married first John Darnall (d. 1684), a brother of Col. Henry Darnall, and secondly Col. Henry Lowe (d. 1717) of St. Mary's County. She died, according to her epitaph, 28 July, 1714, in her 48th year. The son, Richard Bennett of Bennett's Point, Queen Anne's County, was born 16 September, 1667, and died 11 October, 1749. He married Elizabeth, daughter of John Rousby of Calvert County, but had

no issue. Mrs. Henrietta Maria (Neale) Bennett married, secondly, Col. Philemon Lloyd of Wye, Talbot County, and had issue by him also. According to her epitaph at Wye, she was born 27 March, 1647, and died 21 May, 1697.

Maryland Militia in 1742.—Under date of 26th October, 1742, the Journal of the Maryland Assembly contains a report by the Committee for inspecting arms, etc., in which are mentioned the following officers of the Provincial Militia: Colonels Levin Gale, Henry Hooper, James Harris, Charles Hammond, and Henry Ridgely; and Captains Ezechiel Gilliss, William Sanders, John Merrikin, John Dorsey (Elk Ridge), Joshua Dorsey, Richard Lee (Prince George's County), Charles Griffith, John Smith (Calvert County), William Young (Baltimore County), William Rogers ("Independent Company"), and Captain George Stewart's Troop of Horse.

Tilden Family of Kent County.—According to Hanson's *Old Kent* (pp. 302, 307) the immigrant ancestor of this family was Marmaduke Tilden of Great Oak Manor, Kent County, Md., who came to Maryland in 1658 and died in September, 1671, leaving three sons; Marmaduke, Charles and John. The State and County records, however, show that the immigrant ancestor was Charles Tilden, who, on the 27th of March, 1677, "proved one right for transporting himself into this Province to inhabit," and assigned it, 14th May, following, to John Wedge (Land Office, Lib. 15, fol. 413). He was one of the Justices of Kent County, 1685–1687, and again in 1694; Sheriff of the County in 1693; a vestryman of St. Paul's Parish, 1693, 1696–1697; and a member of the Provincial Grand Jury in 1698. He died in 1699 (Test. Proc., Lib. 17^{A}, fol. 17, 18, 31, 33), leaving issue: 1. Marmaduke Tilden (d. 1726), 2. John Tilden (d. 1746), 3. Mary Tilden (b. 21st July, 1681; d. 1702), mar. in 1699, Elias King (d. 1706), 4. Wealthy Ann Tilden, mar. in 1710, Thomas Hynson, 5. Ann Tilden, mar. —— Wilson. Charles Tilden was twice married; his first wife, Mary —— (living in 1692) was certainly the mother of his daughter Mary, and perhaps of his other children as well, with the possible exception of Ann. His second wife, Ann ——, survived him. It would be interesting to learn whence the author of *Old Kent* derived his rather circumstantial account.

QUERIES.

FENDALL.—Captain Josias Fendall, Governor of Maryland, 1658–1660, was living in 1684 (Md. Archives, xvii, 272–274) and was dead four years later. 14th May, 1688, Mary Fendall, widow and administratrix of Josias Fendall, brought suit against William Digges, Esq., in York County, Va. (*Palmer's Calendar*, i. 20). Gov. Fendall had a daughter, Jane, mentioned in the will of Enoch Field, of Charles County, 1675, and a brother, Samuel Fendall, living in Charles County, Md., in 1681 (Md. Archives, xvii, 46, 47). Col. John Fendall (b. 1674; d. 1734) of Charles County is said to have been the son of Josias. Is there any proof of this? Col. John Fendall had a sister, Mary (b. 1673), who, in 1734, was the wife of Matthew Barnes, Sen., of Charles County.

CLAYTON.—William Clayton of Queen Anne's County, was born, according to a deposition, in 1655 and his will was proved 19th December, 1721. His children were: 1. William Clayton (d. 1729), of Talbot County, 2. Solomon Clayton (b. 1685; d. 13th September, 1739) of Queen Anne's County, 3. Rachel Clayton, mar. —— Finney, 4. Alice Clayton, mar. Edward Wright of Queen Anne's County. Is there any evidence connecting this William Clayton with the Clayton family of Pennsylvania and Delaware?

JENIFER.—Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer, son of Col. Daniel Jenifer, by his second wife, Mrs. Anne Taft, was born in Accomac County, Va., about 1672, came to Maryland, where his father had formerly resided, about 1698, and died in St. Mary's County in 1730. By his first wife, whose name does not appear, he had two sons, Michael Jenifer (d. 1728) of St. Mary's County, and Dr. Daniel Jenifer (d. 1729) of Charles County. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Nathaniel Ashcomb, and he had by this marriage four children: Elizabeth (b. 1st December, 1706), Mary (b. 16th August, 1708), Samuel and Ann Jenifer. Who was the first wife of Daniel of St. Thomas Jenifer?

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the Society was held at the rooms on the 12th of February, with a quorum of members present. Officers for the ensuing year were elected as follows:

President.

MENDES COHEN.

Vice-Presidents.

W. HALL HARRIS, REV. GEORGE A. LEAKIN,
HENRY F. THOMPSON.

Corresponding Secretary.

HENRY STOCKBRIDGE.

Recording Secretary.

JOSEPH C. MULLIN.

Treasurer.

WILLIAM BOWLY WILSON.

Trustees of the Athenæum.

CHARLES C. HOMER, EDWARD STABLER, JR.,
OGDEN A. KIRKLAND, JOHN A. WHITRIDGE,
MICHAEL A. MULLIN, J. APPLETON WILSON.

Committee on the Gallery.

ROBERT GARRETT, FRANK K. MURPHY,
EDWARD G. MCDOWELL, HENRY C. WAGNER,
MILES WHITE, JR.

Committee on the Library.

WILSON M. CAREY, CHARLES E. PHELPS,
WALTER I. DAWKINS, FREDERICK W. STORY,
RICHARD D. FISHER, H. OLIVER THOMPSON,
J. SEYMOUR T. WATERS.

Committee on Finance.

R. BRENT KEYSER, MICHAEL JENKINS,
EDWIN WARFIELD.

Committee on Publications.

CLAYTON C. HALL, BERNARD C. STEINER,
HENRY STOCKBRIDGE.

Committee on Membership.

MCHENRY HOWARD, RALPH ROBINSON,
DE COURCY W. THOM.

Committee on Genealogy and Heraldry.

KIRK BROWN, CHRISTOPHER JOHNSTON,
B. BERNARD BROWNE, GEORGE NORBURY MACKENZIE,
RICHARD M. DUVALL, THOMAS E. SEARS.

Committee on Addresses and Literary Entertainments.

WILLIAM HAND BROWNE, JOSEPH B. SETH,
ANDREW C. TRIPPE.

The Council and most of the standing Committees presented reports in regard to the various matters in which the Society has been engaged. These reports are here reproduced in a condensed form for the information of the members who were unable to be present at the meeting.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

The usual routine of the Society's activities has prevailed through the year. It has not been found possible to issue any Fund Publication, and the consideration of undertaking the issue of a Magazine, which shall be the medium for presenting to the membership a knowledge of the Society's work has occupied much of the attention of the Council, and the Council believes that it may now assume such publication with reasonable expectation of success.

The Council deems it proper to place on record the fact that it has been honored during the past year by having the American Historical Association hold its annual meeting in the rooms of the Society in December last.

The collections of this Society were placed at the service of the Associations gathered in the city and appreciation of this courtesy was expressed by individuals and by formal resolutions of the Associations.

The membership of the Society at the beginning of this year was:

Total Active Members, December 31, 1905,	479
" Associate " " " "	6
" Active and Associate Membership,	485
" Honorary Members	2
" Corresponding Members	73
Total Membership	560

The report of the TREASURER was as follows:

ACCOUNT OF THE SOCIETY PROPER.

Received from annual dues from members	$2,665	
" interest from savings banks	74.25	
" from Oliver Hibernian Free School rent	300.00	
" " " " " " janitor services returned	60.00	
" " interest on United Railway and Electric Co. Bonds	160.00	
" " sales of Fund Publications and Catalogues	14.00	
" " Miscellaneous Items	6.50	
" " Ground Rent, East Street	40.00	
" " Atlantic Coast Line R. R. Co. interest on Certificate of Indebtedness	28.00	
Balance	661.35	
		$4,009.10
Balance January 1, 1905	$373.26	
Paid as per vouchers for services of Librarian and Assistant Curator and Janitor	2,093.29	
Paid as per vouchers, gas, water rent, ice	42.36	
" " " " coal and wood	235.30	
" " " " L. P. Dieterich	185.00	
" " " " stationery, printing, postage	235.77	
" " " " furnishings and repairs	307.22	
" " " " purchase old coins, pictures, etc	184.30	
" " " " Fidelity and Deposit Co., Box Rent	5.00	
" " " " Insurance	347.60	
		$4,009.10

STATE OF MARYLAND ACCOUNT.

(PUBLICATION OF ARCHIVES OF MARYLAND.)

Balance to credit of this account January 1, 1905	$1,837.28
Cash from State Appropriations	2,000.00
" " sale of Archives	122.25

Purchased by the Society for use of its members, 212 copies of Vol. XXIV of the Archives of Maryland at 88 cts. per copy	186.56	
45 additional copies of Vol. XXIII of the Archives of Maryland at $1.02 per copy	45.90	
20 additional copies of Vol. XXIV of the Archives of Maryland at 88 cts. per copy	17.60	
212 copies of Vol. XXV of the Archives of Maryland at $1.02 per copy	226.84	
		$4,436.43
Editing Volume XXV	$500.00	
Copying	419.55	
Lucas Bros., paper	4.25	
Publishing Volume XXIV	1,150.35	
" " XXV	1,547.52	
Balance	814.76	
		$4,436.43

ACCOUNT OF COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS.

Balance to the credit of this account January 1, 1905	$899.94	
Received, cash, interest	507.50	
" " sale of Publications	16.50	
		$1,423.94
Paid for Archives delivered to members:		
268 copies Volume XXIII at $1.02	$273.36	
232 " " XXIV at .88	204.16	
212 " " XXV at $1.07	226.84	
Balance to credit of this account	719.58	
		$1,423.94

ACCOUNT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY.

Balance to the credit of this account, January 1, 1905	$422.13	
Interest from Investments Peabody Fund	507.50	
From sale of books	23.35	
		$952.98
Paid as per vouchers for books, periodicals and binding	275.19	
Balance	677.79	
		$952.98

RECAPITULATION.

Balance, credit State Archives account	$814.76	
" " Publication Committee	719.58	
" " Library Committee	677.79	
		$2,212.13
Less, Society Proper, Dr., balance		661.35
		$1,550.78

Balance in National Union Bank	$ 96.94	
" " Eutaw Savings Bank	1,232.31	
" " Savings Bank of Baltimore	221.53	
		$1,550.78

The TRUSTEES of the ATHENÆUM reported that there had been no unusual or extensive repairs during the year, and furnished a complete list of the insurance upon the building and its contents, the companies in which placed and the dates of expiration of the several policies.

These showed an insurance upon the building of $35,000, and upon the library and gallery of $33,000.

The COMMITTEE on the GALLERY reported the deposit with the Society of a painting by Matthew Wilson, "Morning after the Wreck;" and a wood carving, "Mayer Group," by Schwanthaler. The number of visitors to the gallery was 2001, an increase of 331 as compared with the previous year. The Committee also recommended the transfer of the portraits of the various Presidents of the Society from the Gallery to the main Hall.

The COMMITTEE on the LIBRARY reported additions to the Library as follows:

By purchase:

44 volumes of books	$93.75	
2 pamphlets	1.75	
1 Current New York Newspaper	6.75	
3 Current Baltimore Newspapers	11.20	
Current Magazines	23.15	
2 Maps	1.25	
6 Maps (mounting)	5.50	
1 Atlas	3.00	
2 Muster Rolls, War of 1812	11.50	
Expended for binding	31.00	
		$189.30

By gift:

430 volumes of books.
106 pamphlets.
4 Autograph letters.
1 Volume Copies of papers relating to Anthony Stewart.
1 Medal, New York Historical Society.

The Records of St. Luke's Parish, Queen Anne's County, have been copied and indexed.

The second volume of the Register of St. Paul's Parish, Baltimore, has been indexed and a considerable portion of the records of the Evangelical Lutheran Church of Frederick County, have been copied.

A number of the Militia rolls from nearly all of the Counties in the Province and dating from 1738–1749 have been arranged so as to be more readily consulted and partly indexed.

The COMMITTEE on PUBLICATIONS reported that during the year Volume XXV of the Archives had been issued and copies distributed. It includes the period of the administrations of Governor Nathaniel Blakiston, Thomas Tench, Esq., Governor John Seymour, Edward Lloyd, Esq., and Governors John Hart, Charles Calvert and Benedict Leonard Calvert. It also contains, among other items of interest, an account of the burning in 1704 of the State House at Annapolis and of other public buildings. Volume XXVI is now in course of preparation.

With the reduced income now derived from the investment of the Publication Fund and the appropriation of a considerable part of that income to the purchase of volumes of the Archives for free distribution to members, the Committee thought it unwise to undertake during the past year any new Fund Publication.

The Committee further stated that it is gratified to be able to report the completion of arrangements for the production under the auspices of the Society of an Historical Magazine to be published quarterly. Dr. William Hand Browne will undertake the editorial direction. It is proposed to provide in the Magazine for the printing of original papers contributed to the Society, and also of historical documents in its possession, not hitherto published. Provision will be made for genealogical notes of interest, and for book notices. The Magazine will also be made the medium of publishing the Society's Annual Reports. The subscription price has been fixed at $3.00 per annum, but as members of the Society will under its rule be entitled to receive copies without charge, it is recommended after the issue of the Magazine, to discontinue the issue to members of future volumes of the

Archives, but to charge for them the mere cost of paper and printing, which has been found to amount generally to about $1.00 a volume.

The COMMITTEE on MEMBERSHIP presented a summary of the present membership of the Society, which showed:

Members, December 31, 1904		476
Loss by deaths	15	
" " resignations	6	
		— 455
Active members elected		24
Membership, December 31, 1905		479
Honorary Members elected during the year, 1905		None
" " December 31, 1905		2
Associate " elected during the year, 1905		3
" " December 31, 1905		6
Corresponding Members elected during the year, 1905		1
" " loss by death		2
Total Corresponding Members, December 31, 1905		73

The COMMITTEE on ADDRESSES reported a list of the various papers read before the Society during the year. These were:

Jan. 9.—"Thomas Jones, a Judge of the First Court of Appeals of Maryland." By BASIL SOLLERS, a member of the Society.

March 13.—"Judicial Administration in Colonial Virginia." By MR. O. P. CHITWOOD.

April 10.—"A Romance of Early Maryland Colonization." By DR. B. B. JAMES, a member of the Society.

May 8.—"Father Andrew White, Apostle of Maryland: A present-day Study." By REV. JOHN S. QUIRK, a member of the Society.

Oct. 9.—"Further selections from the James McHenry Papers." By DR. B. C. STEINER, a member of the Society.

Nov. 13.—"The Counties of Maryland; their Origin and Boundaries." By DR. EDW. B. MATHEWS, a member of the Society.

Dec. 11.—"John Paul Jones; the fight off Flamborough Head," with an illustration. By J. WILSON LEAKIN, a member of the Society.

A list of members who had died during the year was presented by the recording Secretary. It consisted of the following:

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

BARTLETT, EDW. L. ..... September 29.
BIRCKHEAD, LENNOX ..... January 27.

Brent, J. L.	November	27.
Burns, W. F.	April	14.
Byrne, W. M.	March	28.
Gail, Geo. W., Jr.	October	5.
Gill, N. R.	October	30.
Hadel, Dr. A. K.	April	4.
Kirby, Geo. A.	December	19.
Lowndes, Lloyd	January	8.
McLane, Louis	December	13.
Miltenberger, Dr. G. W.	December	11.
Parker, Oliver A.	August	22.
Shaw, John K.	August	22.
Shippen, Dr. C. C.	November	6.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Cockey, Edw. C.	March	15.
Darling, Chas. W.	June	22.

The recommendation of the Committee on Publications in respect to the distribution to members of the volumes of the Archives was laid over until the monthly meeting of the Society in March for action.

LIST OF MEMBERS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

Craighill, Gen. William Price, *U. S. A., Retired*, Charles Town, Jeff. Co., W. Va.
Marsden, R. G. ..... 13 Leinster Gardens, London, Eng.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS.

Alderman, E. A. ..... Charlottesville, Va.
Applegarth, A. C. ..... Oneida Heights, Huntington, Pa.
The Lord Arundell of Wardour. ..... Wardour Castle, Tisbury, Wilts, England.
Ashburner, Thomas. ..... 1215 Marquette Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
Bacon, Thomas S. ..... Buckeystown, Md.
Bateman, J. F. ..... Easton, Md.
Battle, K. P. ..... Chapel Hill, N. C.
Bell, Herbert C. ..... Pitchin, Ohio.
Bigelow, John ..... 21 Gramercy Park, New York.
Black, J. William ..... 24 Chaplin St., Waterville, Me.
Brand, Rev. William F. ..... Emmorton, Md.
Brasier, William. ..... 26 Liberty St., New York.
Brock, R. A. ..... 517 W. Marshall St., Richmond, Va.
Brooks, William Gray. ..... 16 Pemberton Square, Boston, Mass.
Brown, Alexander ..... Norwood, Nelson Co., Va.
Bruce, Philip A. ..... Richmond, Va.
Buel, C. C. ..... 33 E. 17th St., New York.
Chaillé-Long, Col. C. ..... 328 Maryland Ave., N. E., Washington, D. C.
Cockey, Marston Rogers. ..... 117 Liberty St., New York.
Collett, Oscar W. ..... 3138 School St., St. Louis, Mo.
Daves, Graham ..... 43 Broad St., Newbern, N. C.
De Peyster, J. Watts. ..... Tivoli, Duchess Co., N. Y.
DeWitt, Francis ..... Ware, Mass.
Dorsey, Mrs. Kate Costigan. ..... Cong. Library, Washington, D. C.
Durant, William. ..... Albany, N. Y.
Earle, George ..... Laurel, Md.
Eaton, G. G. ..... 1324 S. Capitol St., Wash'n, D. C.

EHRENBERG, RICHARD .....Rostock, Prussia.
EVANS, SAMUEL.....432 Locust St., Columbia, Pa.
FORD, WORTHINGTON C.....Cong. Library, Washington, D. C.
GARDINER, ASA BIRD .....32 Broadway, New York.
GUDEWILL, GEORGE.....193 Water St., New York.
GWYNN, WALTER.....1740 N. St., N. W., Washington, D. C.
HALL, HUBERT.....Public Record Office, London.
HARDEN, WILLIAM.....226 W. President St., Savannah, Ga.
HAYDEN, REV. HORACE EDWIN.....Wilkesbarre, Pa.
HERSH, GRIER.....York, Pa.
JOHNSON, B. F.....901 E. Main St., Richmond, Va.
LAKE, RICHARD P.....Equitable Bldg., Memphis, Tenn.
LEIGHTON, GEORGE E..... 803 N. Garrison Ave., St. Louis, Mo.
LESLIE, EDMUND NORMAN.....Skaneateles, N. Y.
MALLERY, REV. CHARLES P.....1240 E. 180th St., New York.
MONROE, JAMES M.....Annapolis, Md.
MURRAY, STIRLING .....Leesburg, Va.
NICHOLSON, JOHN P.....1535 Chesnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
NORMAN, WILLIAM B .....238 Fifth Ave., New York.
OWEN, THOMAS M.....Montgomery, Ala.
OWENS, R. B.....Univ. of Nebraska, Lincoln, Neb.
PARKE, JOHN E.....10½ Sixth St., Pittsburg, Pa.
RANDALL, DANIEL R.....Annapolis, Md.
RANDALL, JAMES R..... 2147 H St., N. W., Wash'n, D. C.
RANDALL, J. WIRT .....State Circle, Annapolis, Md.
RILEY, E. S..... .....118 Pr. George St., Annapolis, Md.
ROUSE, FRANCIS W..... .....1218 Chestnut St., Phila., Pa.
SCOTT, ROBERT N.....The Takoma, Washington, D. C.
SHIPPEN, EDWARD..... 532 Walnut St., Philadelphia, Pa.
SMITH, JOHN PHILEMON.....Sharpsburg, Md.
SNOWDEN, YATES.....Charleston, S. C.
SPOFFORD, A. R.....1621 Massachusetts Ave., N. W., Washington, D. C.
STEVENS, JOHN AUSTIN.....17 E. 22d St., New York.
STEVENSON, JOHN J.....University Heights, New York.
TAGGERT, HUGH T.....3249 N St., N. W., Wash'n, D. C.
THOMAS, REV. LAWRENCE B.....Nevis, West Indies.
TILDEN, GEORGE F.....Portland, Me.
TYLER, LYON G.....Williamsburg, Va.
WAGNER, DR. CLINTON..... ..... New York, N. Y.
WEEKS, STEPHEN B.....326 Massachusetts Ave., N. E., Washington, D. C.
WILSON, JAMES GRANT.....621 Fifth Ave., New York.
WINSLOW, REV. WILLIAM COPLEY.....525 Beacon St., Boston, Mass.
WOOD, HENRY C.....Harrodsburg, Ky.
WORTHINGTON, JOSEPH M.....89 Church St., Annapolis, Md.

ASSOCIATE MEMBERS.

BOYD, LEROY S.....Washington, D. C.
CALLAHAN, GRIFFIN C.....6832 Paschall Ave., Philadelphia, Pa.
DENT, LOUIS A.....Washington, D. C.
HUFFMASTER, JAS. T.....Galveston, Texas.
MARTIN, MRS. EDWIN S.....New Straitsville, Ohio.
ROSZEL, BRANTZ MAYER.....17 Iowa Circle, Washington, D. C.

ACTIVE MEMBERS.

(Where no P. O. address is given, Baltimore is understood.)

AGNUS, GEN. FELIX.....American Office.
AHRENS, ADOLPH HALL.....8 E. Lexington St.
ALEXANDER, JULIAN J.....225 St. Paul St.
ALLMAND, JOHN O'G.....112 Chamber of Commerce.
ANDREWS, O.....621 St. Paul St.
APPOLD, LEMUEL T.....904 N. Calvert St.
ARTHURS, EDWARD F.....7 E. Preston St.
ATKINSON, DR. I. E.....609 Cathedral St.
ATKINSON, DR. ROBERT.....2134 Oak St.

BAKER, BERNARD N.....504 Union Trust Building.
BALCH, MISS GRACE.....1708 N. Charles St.
BALDWIN, CHARLES G.....224 St. Paul St.
BALDWIN, REV. CHAS. W.....1404 Bolton St.
BALDWIN, SUMMERFIELD.....1006 N. Charles St.
BANKS, WILLIAM H.....405 Druid Hill Ave.
BARNES, J. T. MASON.....1517 Park Ave.
BARRETT, HENRY C.....107 W. Monument St.
BARROLL, HOPE H.....Chestertown, Md.
BARTLETT, J. KEMP.....2100 Mt. Royal Ave.
BARTON, RANDOLPH.....207 N. Calvert St.
BERNARD, RICHARD.....1718 St. Paul St.
BEVAN, H. CROMWELL.....10 E. Lexington St.
BILLSTEIN, NATHAN.....Liberty Road and 11th St.
BIRCKHEAD, P. MACAULAY.....509 Park Ave.
BIRD, W. EDGEWORTH.....8 E. Biddle St.
BIRNIE, DR. CLOTWORTHY.....Taneytown, Md.
BLACK, H. CRAWFORD.....113 W. Monument St.
BLACK, VAN LEAR.....13 E. Preston St.
BLAKE, GEORGE A.....120 E. Lexington St.
BLAKISTONE, T. WALLIS.....968 N. Howard St.
BLAND, J. R.....1025 N. Charles St.
BOLTON, F. C.....1206 St. Paul St.
BOMBAUGH, DR. CHARLES C.....836 Park Ave.

BONAPARTE, CHARLES J.....216 St. Paul St.
BOND, JAMES A. C .....Westminster, Md.
BOND, NICHOLAS P..... .....1310 Continental Trust Bldg.
BONSAL, LEIGH.....18 E. Mt. Vernon Place.
BOWDOIN, HENRY J.....Maryland Telephone Bldg.
BOWES, JOSEPH.....Equitable Bldg.
BRANTLY, W. T.....10 E. Lexington St.
BRATTAN, J. Y.....American Office.
BRENT, MISS IDA S.....1031 Cathedral St.
BRINTON, D. L.....76 Gunther Building.
BRISCOE, DAVID S.....8 E. Franklin St.
BROOKS, ISAAC, JR.....928 N. Charles St.
BROWN, ALEXANDER.....712 Cathedral St.
BROWN, ARTHUR GEORGE.....841 Calvert Bldg.
BROWN, EDWIN H., JR..... .....Centreville, Md.
BROWN, HON. FRANK.....830 N. Charles St.
BROWN, JOHN W.....722 E. Pratt St.
BROWN, KIRK.....1813 N. Caroline St.
BROWN, MRS. LYDIA B.....1025 Harlem Ave.
BROWN, MADISON.....Centreville, Md.
BROWNE, DR. B. BERNARD.....510 Park Ave.
BROWNE, DR. WILLIAM HAND.....Rider Postoffice, Md.
BRUNE, H. M.....841 Calvert Bldg.
BRUSH, DR. EDWARD N..... { Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital, Towson, Md.
BRYAN, OLIN.....1819 St. Paul St.
BRYAN, WILLIAM SHEPPARD, JR..... .....311 Maryland Telephone Bldg.
BUMP, CHARLES W.....News Office.
BURNETT, PAUL M.....216 St. Paul St.
BURNS, FRANCIS.....827 N. Charles St.
BUZBY, S. STOCKTON.....1216 St. Paul St.

CAREY, JOHN E.....20 E. Eager St.
CAREY, THOMAS K.....26 Light St.
CARR, JAMES EDWARD, JR.....337 St. Paul St.
CARTER, JOHN M.....222 St. Paul St.
CARY, WILSON M.....1021 Cathedral St.
CATOR, SAMUEL B.....823 N. Charles St.
CHESTNUT, W. CALVIN.....1141 Calvert Bldg.
CHEW, DR. SAMUEL C.....215 W. Lanvale St.
CLENDINEN, THOMAS R.....27 E. Mt. Vernon Place.
CLOTWORTHY, C. BAKER.....1400 Continental Bldg.
COCKEY, CHARLES T.....Pikesville, Md.
COHEN, MENDES.....825 N. Charles St.
COLE, R. C.....18 Builders Exchange.
COLSTON, FREDERICK M..... .....1016 St. Paul St.
COLTON, WILLIAM.....Calvert Bldg.
CORBIN, MRS. JOHN W.....2208 N. Charles St.

COTTMAN, J. HOUGH.....1015 Cathedral St.
COTTON, MRS. JANE BALDWIN.....416 Marlborough St., Boston, Mass.
CRAIN, ROBERT.....307 Maryland Telephone Bldg.
CRANE, C. T.....Farm. and Merch. Nat'l Bank.
CRANWELL, J. H.....337 St. Paul St.
CREMEN, STEPHEN A.....1625 Druid Hill Ave.
CROSS, E. J. D.....610 Cathedral St.

DALLAM, RICHARD.....Belair, Md.
DANDRIDGE, MISS ANNE S.....18 W. Hamilton St.
DASHIELL, DR. N. LEEKE.....2340 Madison Ave.
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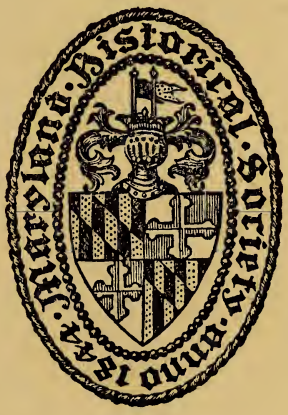

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MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. I. JUNE, 1906. No. 2.

EARLY COUNTY SEATS OF BALTIMORE COUNTY.

II.

It was shown in the previous paper, that the first court house of Baltimore county was on Bush River in 1683, and that tradition, as well as a few facts then mentioned, placed it at or near a small town named Baltimore, then on the east side of that river, the site of which is now in Harford county.

It was also shown that the court house on Bush River had been abandoned and offered for sale, at least as early as 1695, and that I had discovered the fact that the second county seat, which seems to have been called Gunpowder, was, in 1700, on a tract of land known as Sim's Choice, on the neck of land in the fork of the Gunpowder called Sim's Point, and that, contrary to general belief, there never was a court house at Foster's Neck.

The error in regard to a supposed county seat at Foster's Neck originated, I think, in the address of the Hon. Coleman Yellott at the laying of the corner stone of the court house at Towson, in 1854, and was the result of his failure carefully to read the Acts of 1706 and 1707. He states that the second court house was built at Foster's Neck sometime between 1683 and 1707, and that it was deserted in the latter year and then went to Joppa; but, in fact, it was the proposed site for a town that was abandoned in

1707, and not a court house. There was no court house at that place to be deserted. In that year it was at Gunpowder on Sim's Choice, and had been there at least since 1691.

The account of the early court houses given by Mr. Yellott was imported bodily into *The Chronicles of Baltimore*, and thence, with little or no investigation, passed on from one to another, until the vitality of this court house at Foster's Neck, which never existed, completed the effacement of the one that actually stood for many years in the fork of the Gunpowder.

I was, however, unable in my first paper to give any information about the court house earlier than 1683, or to throw any light upon the interval between 1683 and 1695. Further investigation resulted in the discovery of some further facts relating to the first two court houses, which may be of interest, before we cross the Little Falls of the Gunpowder to Joppa.

It appears from the Council Records, so fortunately recovered by the Society through Mr. Mendes Cohen a few years ago, and partly published in the 15th volume of the *Maryland Archives*, p. 294, that a proclamation was issued from the court house of the county as early as 1679, prescribing the manner for giving and answering the alarm upon the approach of Indians. All persons were forbidden, under ordinary circumstances, to fire a gun at a less interval than half an hour, but on the approach of danger the alarm was to be given by the firing of a gun three times within the space of a quarter of an hour, and this was to be answered by firing from house to house throughout the hundred.

But the existence of the court house is recognized at a still earlier date in the same volume. By an ordinance of the Proprietary dated June 10th, 1676 (*Archives*, xv, 78), appointing places where ordinaries, or inns might be kept for "entertaining strangers and passengers traveling either on horse or on foot within our said Province," it is provided that there should be one at the court house in Baltimore county. It is thus clear that the court house was completed within the two-year limit prescribed by the Act of 1674, heretofore mentioned.

When the first court house was finished the Justices of the Quorum were George Utie, George Wells and Thomas Long, and

among the others was Thos. Hedge, who afterwards was for many years the clerk of the court (*Ibid.*, 71).

Having thus fixed the date of the erection of our first court house, something more may be added as to its location.

In 1686 a tract of land conveyed by William Osborne to James Phillips is described in the land records as beginning on Bush river at a point "a little beyond the court house," and running "with the court land" a certain distance and then running *west* to the river (R. M. No. H. S. p. 185). By the location of the lines of this deed, and by other surveys, the Hon. Charles W. Michael, in a paper recently read before the Historical Society of Harford County, has, I think, in a satisfactory manner established the fact that the site of this first court house was, as the tradition has always placed it, on a tract of land called Common Garden, lying on the east side of Bush River.

This tract was granted to William Osborne by patent in 1678 (though he owned most of it some years earlier), and the site located by Mr. Michael is on that part of it which is included in the farm now called "Old Baltimore," belonging to Mr. James L. Richardson.

The site of the town is no doubt on the same farm, for the Act of 1683 speaks of the town land as being "near" the court house, and a deed from Thomas Hedge to his son in 1694 (R. M. No. H. S. 435), conveying two town lots, recites that the town had been laid out on land also belonging to William Osborne.

These old deeds give us glimpses of old law as well as of early provincial life. In this one the grantee was put in possession by the delivery of a silver coin "called in Spanish a Bitt fixed on the seal of these presents," and in payment for the land conveyed the old clerk of the court was to receive on the 10th of each September during his life 300 gallons of good "Syder" made at the plantation of William Loney and Richard Green in Rumly Creek.

As already mentioned, Baltimore on the Bush is laid down on Herman's Map of 1670. Its existence is also recognized in 1669 by an ordinance of the Lieutenant General appointing the ports of the Province, which provides that there should be one "afore the town land in Bush River (*Archives*, v, 47).

This town continued to hold a place on the early maps for many years, but it could never have been more than a small settlement. Lord Baltimore in his letter, in 1678, to the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, published in the Archives (*Ibid.*, 264), gives an interesting description of the town of St. Mary's, but he does not mention Baltimore. On the contrary, he says: "Other places we have none that are called or can be called Townes," explaining that the people preferred to build near the water for the convenience of trade, and that there could be no change in conditions "until it shall please God to increase the number of the people, and so to alter their trade as to make it necessary to build more close and to lyve in townes."

All trace of Baltimore on the Bush disappeared many years ago. Its site was preserved only by tradition as far back as 1773. In the deposition of Col. John Hall, then seventy-two years old, taken that year in a suit in the Provincial Court by another James Phillips against another William Osborne, he states that he knew a place in Bush River Neck, called the "Old Plantation," where Col. James Phillips formerly lived, and where the burying-ground of the Phillips family was still kept up, and that he always understood that the "Old Plantation" was where the town on Bush River was formerly laid out. Land Office T. B. H., No. 2, p. 246.

The Rev. Dr. Leakin and I visited the traditional site not long ago, and at about a quarter of a mile northward of the particular parcel of land on which Mr. Michael places the court house, and on the farm now called Old Baltimore, we found a burying-ground of the Phillips family. Among other tombstones there is one to James Phillips; who died in 1803, at the age of sixty-two. The stone bearing the earliest date of those now there is the one to William Pitt Phillips, who died in 1791, but, in the absence of all evidence of any other burying ground of the Phillips family, it may be fairly assumed that this is the one referred to by Col. Hall, and that it still marks the tract on which the first Baltimore town stood two centuries ago.

Mention is made occasionally in the Land Records of the meeting of the county court in the earliest years of the county,

but the oldest volume of its regular proceedings preserved in the Record Office begins in 1682. I found this and two other volumes antedating the year 1700, and embracing the years 1682 to 1686, and 1691 to 1696, all without covers, much worn and mutilated, together with a large number of loose leaves. With some trouble, by means of references in other records and otherwise, I have identified these three volumes as libers D., F. No. 1 and G. No. 1, and have placed in them the loose leaves where I think they belong. They are thus nearly complete, and, by causing them to be properly bound, I have given them a new lease for another term.

This first volume as preserved begins with page five in the midst of the proceedings of November Court, 1682, and does not show what Justices were then sitting. At the January term there was no quorum, but at the March Court, 1683 the Justices sitting were Col. George Wells, Edward Bedell, Major Thomas Long and John Boring. Thomas Hedge was the Clerk, and had been, at least, since 1679, and so continued to be as late, at least, as 1696; Miles Gibson was High Sheriff, and by order of court (p. 10) the key of the court house was in the custody of John Hathway the "Cryer."

I do not know how the county acquired title to the land on which the court house stood, but in 1683 (D., p. 41) a summons was issued by the court "for William Osborn and Margaret, his wife, to show cause why they do not make over the Court House Land unto said Lordships Justices and their Successors." Later on (p. 83) it appears that "William Osborn in open court September the 4th, 1683, came and acknowledged the Court House Land unto the Commissioners of Baltimore County, and their successors with delivery of turf and twig," an instance of the old common law ceremony of livery of seisin.

I find nothing to show the character of the first court house, except the fact that it needed repairs in 1683, (D., p. 49) and had "dormant" windows. In the levy of 1685 (D., 370) one item is 1,500 pounds of tobacco "for the carpenter for pulling down the dormant windows of the court house and coursing the same well with good boards and the sap drawne out and for nailes," Thomas Hedge and William Osborne to look after the carpenter. It no

doubt was a primitive structure probably built of logs. The theory that its bricks were shipped and used in the construction of a second court house, as suggested by several, is disposed of by the fact that it was still standing, and was offered for sale four years after we find the court sitting at Gunpowder.

It appears from the *Archives* that in 1686 Thomas Thurston, on behalf of the people on the South side of Bush River and of nearly all the rest of the county, petitioned the Council to move the court house to a point on the south side of Winter's Run, "neere the path that goes from the Potomac to the Susquehannoh Rivers." (*Archives*, v, 473.) Among the reasons assigned for the change were, that its location was out of the way, that "in the Winter people cannot come for the frost," that the proposed location would encourage the seating of lands, and "be a means to driven back the heathen further into the woods." This was a few years after the whole of what is now Cecil county, and a large part of what is now Kent county, had been taken off from Baltimore.

Action by the Council was postponed in order that Miles Gibson, the Sheriff, and other inhabitants of the county then at St. Mary's, might be consulted. I find no further mention of this proposed removal, but the court never went to Winter's Run. In the later proceedings of the court there is some evidence that the county seat continued on Bush River as late as 1689.

At November Court, 1692, suit was brought by Thomas Heath against the Estate of Major Thomas Long, late Sheriff, for tobacco levied for the expenses of the justices during 1687, 1688 and 1689 which had either not been collected, or not paid over. The point of this is that Heath was an innholder on Bush River, and these expenses were no doubt for the accommodation of the justices while holding court there. This is the last trace I find of the occupation of the first court house, and we must now move to the Gunpowder.

These early court proceedings never make any formal mention of the place where the court is sitting and the only information furnished by them as to the location of the court house is such as may be had, or inferred, from some fact recited, or from some

incidental reference to its location. The proceedings between 1686 and 1691, have been lost, and I have not been able from any other source to find out just when the county seat was moved from Bush River, but the later proceedings show that there was a court house on the Gunpowder River at least as early as 1691.

In the proceedings of the August Court 1693 (F., No. 1, p. 497) it appears that Richard —— was indicted for perjury committed in 1691 before Their Majesties' Justices, "at the court house in Gunpowder Hundred." The Bush River court house was in Spesutie Hundred.

Not to leave this Richard under a cloud, I will add that by special leave of the court (persons charged with a felony not then being entitled to counsel as of right) he was allowed counsel; George Oldfield and Daniel Palmer defended him, and he was acquitted.

There is much other evidence to be found in the proceedings of the court to show that it was being held on the Gunpowder, before we come to the deeds which definitely fix its location.

In 1692 Michael Judd, who lived in Gunpowder hundred, files a petition for license to keep an ordinary for the "entertainment of *Your worships* and the good people" of the county, which was granted, (F., p. 241). In 1683 (F., p. 363) Robert Benger, "finding himself capable to keep an ordinary for the accommodation of such persons as may resort to the same," applies for a license to keep one, and the order of court grants him license to keep an ordinary "neare the court house in Gunpowder River." The levies of 1692 (F., p. 274), 1693 and 1694 (G., pp. 132-355) contain large sums of tobacco for both Judd and Benger, the innholders, for the expenses for their Justices, their "dietts and horse pasture." There was also the charge, mentioned in my first paper, against a certain party who lived on the Gunpowder, of selling liquor to the Justices without a license. (G., p. 564).

The inn was necessary for those who assembled at the courts, and in providing throughout the Province for the traveller and his horse, it was, as Mr. Edwin Higgins says, "an important institution in our early history." Many men prominent in the affairs of the county were innholders, engaging in the business for the

profit, or as a protection against overtaxed hospitality. Thomas Richardson represents that where he lives, "hard by the main road toward the head of the bay," so many travellers stop with him that he is put to much inconvenience and expenses (F., p. 490), and therefore asks leave to keep an ordinary. Their charges for "diett," for small beer and strong beer, and for a "nightes lodging in a bedd" afterwards, was regulated by law, and at one time, for reasons, which, whatever they were, have long since disappeared, every voter was entitled to credit at the inn up to 400 pounds of tobacco. *Plantation Laws*, p. 53.

Returning to Gunpowder Court House, we find in the court proceedings under the head of "Private Court," "As Accompt of what Commisioners were mett at the usual Court House the 25th day of April, Ao. Dom. 1693" for the election of vestrymen "for the Church government." The Commissioners, or Justices, adjourned to the house of Robert Benger, the innholder, where the vestrymen for the three parishes of the county were elected by the freeholders, and an order was passed for them to appear at the June Court ensuing "at the usual court house in Gunpowder River," (F., p. 410). At the June Court it is recorded that "all vestrymen of the whole county have mett together at the court house in Gunpowder River for the propagating of the Churches" (F., p. 423).

I have never seen anywhere else any mention of this election of vestrymen; and as they were chosen in the county under the Act of 1692 which made the Church of England the established Church of the Province, it may be of interest to give their names in passing. They were as follows:

For Spes Utie Parish (later St. George's), Jacob Lotton, James Phillips, William Hollis, George Wells, Samuel Brown, and Mark Richardson; for Gunpowder Parish (soon after changed to Copley, and later to St. John's), Thomas Staly, Thomas Hedge, Richard Adams, Moses Groom, Lawrence Richardson and Thomas James; for the Patapsco Parish (later St. Paul's), George Ashman, John Ferry, Francis Watkins, Nicholas Corbin, Richard Sampson and Richard Cromwell. At the June Court Thomas Preston was substituted for Thomas James.

While it is thus clear that there was a court house on the Gunpowder during the years mentioned, the one referred to in these proceedings was not the one which stood upon the two acres conveyed by Michael Judd to the county in 1700, but seems to have been a temporary one though standing, very probably, on the same tract as did the other.

On one of the loose leaves referred to (see F. p. 25), is the record of a lease for one year to Michael Judd by Elizabeth Wally, widow of John Wally, and Thomas Thurston (her father), dated November 9th 1691, of a plantation then in possession of the said Elizabeth, together with all houses thereon and with "liberty for the building of a new house" on the land. On the margin of the lease are the words: "Court house let to Judd.' This marginal note indicates that there was then a court house, or a building used as such, on this plantation.

It was shown in my first paper that the two acres on which the court house stood in 1700, and which were then conveyed by Michael Judd to the county, were part of tract lying in the fork of Gunpowder called Simm's Choice. (H. W., No. 2, p. 126-109.) Now Simm's Choice had been left to John Wally under the will of Nicholas Hempstead. After the lease mentioned Charles Ramsey married Wally's widow, and in November, 1692, just at the end of the lease, they conveyed this tract to Judd, the deed showing that the land belonged to her, and that she had acquired title from her first husband. (R. M., No. H. S., p. 356.) It looks very much as if the plantation leased to Judd by Elizabeth Wally and Thomas Thurston in 1691, and the land conveyed to him in 1692 by her and her then husband, were one and the same tract, and therefore that both court houses stood on Simm's Choice.

This first court house on the Gunpowder was, I think, only some building temporarily occupied as such. The permanent one conveyed in 1700 was finished in 1696, but it was under construction as early as 1692. Judd was the contractor, though I have not been able to find any record of the original contract, but in 1692 he made a sub-contract with Mathias Jewell (F., p. 341), under which Jewell agreed to get the court house frame up by the

next March Court, and "to ffall, mall and saw the tymber for the said court house." Moving to the Gunpowder probably between 1689 and 1691, it is not at all likely that the county would have been building a court house in 1692, if the one first occupied as such had been other than temporary.

Then again the annual levies show sums paid to Judd for "House room," for "Clerk's office and house," and for "rent of office," and so forth, which items indicate temporary occupancy, and also that the building was on Judd's land.

By an order of court in March, 1693, Capt. Thomas Richardson, one of the Justices, was directed to have built a clerk's office ten feet square "for the securing of the records," and also a "cage" of the same size "neare the appointed place for the court house" (F., p. 382). Judd took the contract for the office (G., p. 54) and got 2,500 pounds of tobacco for building it (G., p. 355); and Thomas Litten built the cage for 800 pounds (G., p. 132).

The permanent building, as I have said, was under construction in 1692, but it got along very slowly. The next mention of it which I find is another sub-contract between Judd and Edward Jones in March, 1694 (G., p. 30), whereby Jones agrees to finish the court house, and to find timber and boards, to make a partition and doors, to put up the window frames and weather board the house, while Judd agrees to get up the rafters and bring the timber from the landing.

But the work still drags and the court apparently is now pressing Judd, for on November 10th, 1694, he comes and executes a bond with a penalty in the sum of 24,000 pounds of tobacco to finish the court house by the last day of the following August, and on completion to make over the same together with two acres adjoining for the use of the court. He was to receive 12,000 pounds of tobacco for the building and 800 for the land. (G., p. 351.)

The familiar history of the erection of public buildings, however repeats itself: Judd fails to finish on time. At the November court 1695 the Grand Jury calls attention to the matter, but Judd, with the cleverness of the modern contractor, makes it appear that the delay was not his fault, and the court grants an extension until the 31st of the following March, a new bond being

required in double the former penalty, and John Johnson and Robert Benger become his sureties (G., p. 518). The levy for this year appropriates for Judd the tobacco for the house and land, and also forty pounds for moving the pillory (p. 516).

As we all know, tobacco was then the chief currency of the province, and every man's field was a private mint. Its volume and value depended on the size of the crop; the greater the yield the less it was worth; but at three cents a pound Judd got $360 for the court house and $24 for the land.

The court house was probably completed by the time provided, as I find no further mention of the subject, but, as we have seen, the two acres were not conveyed until 1700. The site of this second court house is now included in the estate called Mount Peru, belonging to Col. Benjamin F. Taylor, of Baltimore county.

The court proceedings show that the proposed change of the county seat, some years latter, from Gunpowder across the river to Joppa, excited much opposition. (Nov. Court, 1712, p. 333). Fifteen of the grand jurors presented a vigorous protest, asserting that the removal would be a "notorious greevance" to the county, and would reduce them "to the lowest ebb of poverty" (Nov. Ct., 1710, p. 182), but the boom in town lots at Joppa carried the day. At the June Court, 1712 (p. 313), the court "adjourns for one hour to the new court house at Joppa," and a few months afterwards the change of the county seat was effected in accordance with the Act of Assembly.

The map of the Head of the Gunpowder which I have presented to the Society is a copy of the original made by Edward A. Day in 1814, and now in the possession of Miss Mary Foreman Day, of Baltimore county, who kindly permitted me to have this copy made. It shows the fork of the Gunpowder where the second court house stood, and also what then remained of Joppa, the third county seat. The building with the flag, on the south side of the river by the post road, is the once famous Red Lion Inn.

We see by this map that there was nothing left of Joppa in 1814 except the church and four dwellings, and of these the only one now standing is the dwelling marked with the name of Benjamin Rumsey. It is a most substantial and comfortable brick

house, now known as the "Rumsey Mansion," occupied by Mr. Nelson Bell and belonging to Miss Charlotte B. Day, the owner of "Joppa farm." As the last remaining house to mark the site of the once busy little town, it naturally is the object of much interest, and there has been much speculation as to its history. My own impression is that, as it originally stood, it was built by Col. James Maxwell about 1720, and constituted part of his improvements which were not to be interfered with in laying out the town under the Act of 1724, and was then enlarged by a second story when Col. Rumsey occupied it, about 1771. The court house stood on the square in front of the church.

The original plan of Joppa, as laid off in 1725 by Col. John Dorsey, the surveyor, is still preserved in the Record Office, and copies of it may be seen in Scharf's works, but Mr. Day's map, I feel sure, is the only one of the town in existence.

There is a good deal in the records about Michael Judd, the architect and builder of the Gunpowder court house, indicating that he was a man of enterprise and varied resources. He was a shipwright as well as an innkeeper and public contractor. I find no mention of any ship that he built, but as an innkeeper he was duly indicted for violating the liquor law (G., p. 503), and as a public contractor he banked on the forbearance of the public, as contractors do to-day. Having boarded the justices and built the court house, by way of preparation, he finally rounds out his occupations by being admitted to the Bar. I find however, no record of his professional life, except the fact that he was presented by the grand jury for having abused the court "after a scandalous manner" (G., p. 479). One of his ill-advised clients had evidently just lost a case. The grand jury, however, seems to have recognized the well-established privilege of the Bar to thus explain to the misguided client how it all happened, for, on second thought, they dismissed the charge. The last I find of Judd is that he was in arrears to Lord Baltimore for his ground rent.

Liber G. No. 1 closes in August, 1696, and from then until 1708 the court proceedings have been lost. The veteran clerk, Thomas Hedge, was still on duty, but had recently been in trouble because, under the influence of something stronger than his Rumley

Creek "syder," he had unwisely given expression either to his loyalty to the Stuarts, or his resentment against William and Mary for having deprived Lord Baltimore of the government of his Province. On the oaths of Anthony Drew and John Parker he was charged with having, one night at Judd's inn, drunk to the health of King James in a "Cupp of Sampson," and "with great acclamacons," having asked God to bless "King James, our real King." (G., p. 172). There never was a clearer case on the evidence, but the charge was dismissed. The grand jurors were probably ready to drink to the same toast themselves.

The attorneys practicing on Bush River, and at Gunpowder, whose names I noticed most frequently in these records, were James Thompson, Thomas Scudamore, Daniel Palmer, George Oldfield, William Peckett and Edward Boothby. In one sense, at least, they were the leaders of our Bar.

These Justices of the County Courts were not lawyers; indeed, it was not until some years after the Revolution, that the law required that they should be. It was desirable, however, that they should know some law, and so by an Act of Assembly they were provided with Dalton's Justice of the Peace, and this constituted their law library (Plant Laws, p. 25—Bacon, 1715, ch. 41). This book, with its quaint old laws, was first published in 1618, in the time of James the First, for the "Society of Stationers," (1 Biblio L. A. 89), and by some chance there is a copy of the edition of 1682 now in the Bar Library, inscribed "William Walker his Booke." While not learned in the law the county Justices were selected from among the best and most prominent citizens, who had fair conceptions of "Right and Just," and met the requirements of their day. It was men of this class who composed the County Court of Frederick when it declared the Stamp Act to be a violation of the Charter and therefore void, and thus furnished an authority right in point for the Supreme Court of the United States when it decided, about, forty years later, in the great case of Marbury against Madison, that the Judiciary had power to pass on the constitutionality of an Act of the Legislative Department.

My line of investigation has crossed many others which open up

much of interest relating to these primitive courts, and to the conditions of early provincial life, as illustrated in their proceedings, but it is not within the scope of this paper to follow these other lines. The purpose of my investigation has been simply to ascertain definitely what were our early county seats, a subject about which our information was scant, and much of that as I soon discovered, erroneous.

In straightening out the story of their succession, our thoughts naturally revert to the completion of the sixth court house in the line of descent, for the administration of justice in a community of 600,000 people, whose city had no existence for more than fifty years after the first one was built. The contrast between the little log building on the Bush, and the splendid structure of to-day, is an object-lesson of the marvelous developments that have been wrought in all the conditions of life since John Hathway carried the key of the first court house of the county.

REMINISCENCES OF BALTIMORE IN 1824.

In a chapter of reminiscenses, it is well to fix a date around which to gather them, and perhaps there can be none better than the visit of Lafayette in 1824. Adopting this, it is proposed to say a few words of Baltimore at that time—of Baltimore as Lafayette might have seen it, had the affectionate attentions of those who surrounded "the nation's guest"—permitted him to examine it in its length and breadth.

The coming of Lafayette to America aroused all its people; nor was Baltimore behindhand in the enthusiasm of his reception. A large deputation of its citizens along with the Major General of the military division with his staff went to Frenchtown to meet him, and although all that took place on the occasion has been again and again described, and is to be found at length in the Chronicles of Baltimore, yet the narrative, even now, hardly palls as it is read by persons who were present at the time.

Those who enter the harbor of Baltimore to-day between the Lighthouse on the Lazaretto Point and the fort, find themselves surrounded at once by all the incidents of a great seaport town. Every inch of ground is occupied, every foot of water front has been made available. The characteristic of the scene is its intense vitality. Foreign steamers, coastwise steamers, domestic steamers, are fastened to the wharves, are in motion, or at anchor. Tugs are flashing about in all directions or towing sailing vessels of all sizes in or out of port. The rattling of the coal chutes as they fill the holds of ships and canal barges, the roll of railroad trains, the shrieks of steam whistles on land and water, the unceasing drone, the compound of the ten thousand noises of a great city which pervades the air—the elevators, domes, towers and steeples which pierce and dominate the haze that hangs over it, formed no part of the landscape that greeted the eye of Lafayette as he stood on the bow of the United States steamboat which headed the procession of steamboats that had gone out to

meet him when he came from Frenchtown to Baltimore on the 24th day of August, 1824. On the left, from the fort to Federal Hill, the only building was the town powder house. On the right beyond the Lazaretto it was no better. Away off, in that direction, were some houses where the Philadelphia Turnpike crossed Loudenslager's Hill. What is Canton now, was then little better than old fields as far as the marts of the shipping which hid the houses of Fell's Point from the approaching visitor. Nor beyond the fort, where the General landed, within the harbor proper, was there anything to admire. There were no Bay steamers then to line as now the west side of the basin. The wheat, oyster and wood pungies reigned supreme in the cul-de-sac of the port. Nor was the comparison as regards the water approach to the city more striking than that which was afforded upon land. That Lafayette might see the length of Baltimore in what might be called its solidity, the head, or right of the line of the military part of his reception was at Cook's corner, being the northeast corner of Baltimore and Eutaw Streets. Beyond this to the west was a vacant square, a playground for the boys of the neighborhood, and opposite, to the south, was a range of warehouses, that often wanted tenants in consequence, it was said, of being too far out of town. The first large building to the west was on the corner of Paca Street, the General Wayne Inn, which still remains an ancient land mark. There was a scant sprinkling of insignificant houses on either side of Baltimore Street westward. Dr. Robinson's dwelling near Pine Street on the south side was of some pretension in those days. Beyond that, on the same side after crossing what was then known as Cove, now Fremont Street, was the M'Henry Mansion, afterwards converted into the palatial residence of Mr. Thomas Winans. This faced extensive commons, beyond which again to the west, were the M'Henry woods, on the north side of a road which had not then acquired the dignity of a street. Opposite to the woods was a broad meadow which extended to Willow Brook, the country residence of Mr. John Donnell, which was opposite Maryland Square where Dr. Steuart lived, "far from the madding crowd." I describe this

locality the more particularly, as it is now a thickly built portion of the city around Franklin and Union Squares.

But to return to Cook's corner. Here Lafayette commanded a view of Baltimore Street to the Bridge over the Falls, the houses on either side being not unaptly compared to country militia on a field day—ranked without regard to size, clothing or bearing. All that was deficient in this respect, however, was made up by the ten thousand troops that lined the street for the entire distance on the north side and by still greater numbers of our people who filled the pavements and the windows, and shouted their welcome and waved hats and kerchiefs as the brave and kind old man passed in his carriage down the line.

Lafayette, as you all know, was quartered at the Fountain Inn, on Light Street, and occupied the very confined, uncomfortable rooms that Washington had occupied before him. The leading hotel of that day, however, was the Indian Queen, at the corner of Hanover Street, which announced its name by a huge sign swinging from an iron framing.

Leaving Lafayette at his quarters in the Fountain Inn to be handshaken, and speechified and feasted affectionately and, be it added, reverentially by the multitudes who did him honor, let us see what, as already said, he might have seen.

The court end of the City was then in the middle of it, on Gay Street, south of Baltimore. Robert Oliver lived here in the house now occupied by the First National Bank; next to him on the north was the residence of Roswell L. Colt, his son-in-law. To the south William Gilmor lived, and further south at the corner of Second Street was the noble mansion of Colonel Tenant. Judge Purviance lived opposite Mr. Oliver, General Harper opposite to the centre of the Exchange. Opposite its south end, on Water Street, was the very handsome residence of Robert Gilmor, filled with works of art. Opposite Mr. Gilmor, but further to the west, were the noble mansions of Mr. Dugan and Mr. Hollins. Beyond them, on the same side of what is now Exchange Place, were the houses of John Donnell and Robert Gilmor, Senior; and then, getting into South Street, William Patterson lived, while north of Baltimore Street on the east side of Gay Street resided

John Ridgely of Hampton. These names are all the names of men, socially, commercially or professionally, leaders in our City. Gay Street and its immediate neighborhood was thus the Court end of Baltimore. Here and there, men of equal position were to be found elsewhere. Christopher Deshon, an old merchant, had built the finest house in Baltimore in Old Town, opposite Claggett's brewery, occupied at the time of Lafayette's visit by Charles Carroll of Carrollton. The two McKims, Isaac and William, had handsome houses on Baltimore Street east of the Bridge. Smith and Buchanan had built the two dwellings on the west side of Monument Square. Some handsome houses were to be found on the east side of the Square, and on the east side of Calvert north of Lexington. Alexander Brown and Dr. Birckhead had mansions on Fayette Street, now forming part of Barnum's Hotel; and George Brown and the Wilsons and John McKim had fixed themselves on Holliday Street near the Theatre. Still, notwithstanding this sporadic distribution, Gay Street near Second Street was properly regarded as the fashionable centre of the town. In those days the Cathedral was the only building on the summit of its hill, on the northern slope of which the Unitarian Church intervened between the Cathedral and the Washington Monument. This last, surrounded by its scaffolding, was in Howard's woods; and a rough embankment of earth, taken from the foundation of the structure, projected southwardly into the ravine now occupied by Centre Street and was the beginning of what is now Charles Street. To the east of the Cathedral the eye ranged over "the meadow," dotted here and there with houses and the buildings of White's distillery, taking in the old castellated jail, the penitentiary, and the roofs of the houses in Old Town, and resting on the range of hills on which stood the Maryland Hospital. Improvements at this time on Charles Street did not extend beyond Mulberry Street, the southwest corner of the two streets being marked by the residence of Dr. Hayden, then the leading dentist and the well-known geologist, whose name is still perpetuated among scientific men as the discoverer of Haydenite. A stately edifice was this house of Dr. Hayden, looking down upon its humbler neighbors on the opposite side of Charles Street.

Next, as regards activity, to the wharves at Fell's Point and around the Basin and Baltimore Street, the busiest part of the city at the date of Lafayette's visit was Howard Street, on the upper part of which and along Franklin Street and Pennsylvania Avenue, far past St. Mary's College, were gathered the great Conestoga wagons, the precursors of the railroad in bringing to Baltimore, at the speed of two and a half miles an hour, their loads of country produce. The Wheatfield Inn, the Golden Horse, and the Black Bear Taverns indicated by their names the class of customers they aimed at securing. To this day Howard Street flour is the name given to all the flour that comes to Baltimore from the west at the speed of twenty miles an hour. Not far from the Golden Horse, at the corner of Franklin and Howard Streets, a road to the left, well graded and hedged, led through the forest to the Belvedere Mansion at the head of Calvert Street extended, and pic-nics and May-day parties were held, and volunteer companies drilled in the shade of the great oaks. The sights of Baltimore then, were the Cathedral, the Exchange, and Peale's Museum on Holliday Street, which last became the City Hall when the Museum was removed to the corner of Calvert and Baltimore Streets. Occasionally a traveller was taken to Federal Hill, that he might look down upon what was then the third city in the Union. Verily, had Lafayette been curious about Baltimore his curiosity would not have taken long to gratify. So much for the locality of Baltimore. A word now about its people.

The people of Baltimore were of many nationalities, to speak of them generally. The leading merchant, Robert Oliver—a merchant-prince with his grand physique, noble bearing, generosity and geniality, was an Irishman, and the firm of Robert and John Oliver was known throughout the world. William Patterson who was distinguished in commerce, long before the memoirs of his daughter brought his name before the public, was a Scotchman. The Williamses were originally of Welsh descent. Lewis Pascault, whose suburban residence still exists on Saratoga Street, between Greene and Pine, in the centre now of a dense population, was of French extraction, an emigré from Saint Domingo. The names of Didier, Deshon and D'Arcy suggest their nationality.

Von Kapf, Brune, Mayer and Hoffmann indicate a German origin. England was represented by those descendants of the early colonists who made Baltimore their home. These names, taken at random as they occur to the memory, all familiar even to the present generation,—are but a tithe of those that might be enumerated to prove the heterogenous character of the population in the early part of the present century—these were names of renown. In the course of an important litigation it was said of a letter of John Donnell, who ranked with Robert Oliver as a great merchant, that the directions to his captain on a voyage that included ports in Europe and Asia during the wars on the continent, exhibited a varied knowledge and a vigor and breadth of thought that would have done honor to a statesman.

But it was not to these great merchants alone that Baltimore owed the strength that has made the city what it is. There was another class, whose agency was equally if not more important though not so conspicuous, and who thronged to see Lafayette in 1824, or stood in the ranks of those who witnessed his progress through the city. They were men like those whose names are to be found in the list of the corporators and managers of the Maryland Institute which was founded about this time. Then again, there were the lawyers. Pinkney had just passed away, or Lafayette would have been greeted by the minister who had represented America abroad and who stood without a rival at the head of the Bar of the country. But Taney still lived, whose appearance is so familiar to many of us still, that it is almost unnecessary to describe the tall spare man of stooping form, grave and quiet bearing and gentle mien, who, careless of the graces of oratory, appealed to court or jury in language so simple, yet so clear, that those who listened almost fancied they could do as well themselves, so great was this grand lawyer's faculty of statement and argument. There was Wirt too, Taney's contemporary and competitor; and yet so widely different in appearance, manner and style of speech. A tall and portly man of stately bearing; a handsome man with Roman features, with a pleasant voice which uttered sentences refined and polished and ready even for the press; not the lawyer that Taney was, but making

up by untiring diligence in the preparation of his cases any deficiency; shaming the slipshod efforts of the merely talented in the profession. Along with them was Robert Goodloe Harper, lawyer and statesman,—unlike either of the others in manner and appearance, grave and sententious in speech, clear and logical in argument, formal and dignified and imperturbable, yet of the kindliest nature, with all the marks of the old school of gentlemen in his dress and bearing. Then there was General Winder—all energy and action, vehement alike before court and jury—with the temperament that had made a soldier of him, and was indicated in the light auburn of his hair, his bright blue eyes and prominent features. Jonathan Meredith, who to the manner of a man of the world joined the knowledge which placed him high in the ranks of his profession; remarkable for careful preparation and studied delivery, few men addressed the Bench who received more respectful attention. When he had completed the investigation of a case, it could fairly be assumed that nothing more was to be found in the books regarding it. Then, unlike all the others, a man *sui generis*, was John Glenn, whose boundless energy and resistless will and untiring devotion to his clients' interests placed him from the beginning preëminently before the public, and whose practical ability secured for him what was probably the most profitable practice at the Bar in Baltimore. Too actively engaged in all branches of his profession to prepare his cases with the painful diligence that characterized others, he supplied the want of it with a quickness that seemed like intuition. At the time we speak of he was the readiest, and, perhaps, the most available lawyer at the Bar. In every particular, he was essentially a business man, and the business public so appreciated him. Associated with Mr. Glenn in many of his greatest cases was Charles Mitchell, than whom there was perhaps no better lawyer at the Bar. Rarely endowed in many ways, of an excellent presence, and an emphatic yet calm and deliberate speaker; he made his mark whenever he addressed himself to the argument of a cause. Those who best appreciated him were his brethren of the Bar. Then there was George Richardson, of a date following those just named, one of the closest reasoners in the profession,

intensely earnest and emphatic—McMahon—whose initials it is unnecessary to give, for there was but one McMahon—the historian of Maryland and a profound and able lawyer; searching in investigation, who discussed no subject that he did not exhaust, lucid in argument, vehement and eloquent there can be no question, that, as an orator he was *primus inter pares* among his brethren. William Schley, with the courtly manner of the old school of the profession, a thorough lawyer, ingenious and acute, was preëminent among the leaders of the Bar. John Nelson, than whom the profession contained no abler lawyer; with the rarest faculty of condensation, saying everything in the best manner and leaving nothing unsaid that was germain to his cause. Grafton Dulaney, whose name cannot be omitted when enumerating the worthy, the able and the trusted. William Gwynn, editor, epigrammatist, and one of the most reliable of counsellors of his day—the contemporary of Pinkney, Taney, Wirt and Winder and surviving all of them—one of the kindest and most benevolent of men—loved by all who knew him and fading from view, as old age found him left behind in more active contests than those to which he had been accustomed. His portrait looks down from the walls of the Superior Court Room upon the scene in which he was at one time an honored actor. The last in this enumeration of those who figured in the Bar of Baltimore more than fifty years ago, is one, who surviving his fellows, almost recently passed away—Reverdy Johnson,—statesman, diplomatist, and lawyer. Few men have been more preëminently before the public, in the Senate and at the Bar, and yet, with all his distinction, natural and unaffected as a child. Of all his contemporaries not one is more affectionately remembered. All whom I have named were living men engaged in the active pursuits of life when Lafayette's visit to Baltimore fixed the date around which these reminiscences have been concentrated. Are they the only ones worthy to be recalled to the memory? Of the living who were their contemporaries, it will be for some one who comes after them to speak. To extend the list even of the dead would exceed the limits proper to be observed. Were the writer a physician, he would have added to his list more than one distin-

guished name and would have done for that honored calling what he has done for his own profession.

Besides the corporators of the Maryland Institute, there were others outside the learned professions making up the people of the city equally entitled to notice; and it would be a subject by itself were an attempt made to enumerate in detail persons and places that have already on more than one occasion been described by others. Still, notwithstanding all the worth and talent here enumerated or referred to, Baltimore was in a comparatively drowsy condition of respectability—honored and esteemed, but not to be compared to what she became when the competition of other cities aroused and developed the energies that have made her what she is to-day. The gas works in those days were at the corner of Saratoga and Holliday Streets in the meadow, and although Baltimore has the credit of having been the first to introduce gas into use in its present shape, there was nothing in the appearance of the primitive establishment to attract admiration or suggest imitation. Peale's Museum was in the neighborhood and was a popular place of evening resort, where crowds collected around the skeleton of the Mammoth or lounged in the picture gallery until summoned by the gong to see an exhibition with a magic lantern or to listen to lectures on chemistry from the proprietor. Not far off was the Holliday Street Theatre. The attraction here was the acting—not the scenery or the comfort experienced by the audience. The prices for admission were one dollar for the boxes, seventy-five cents for what was then called the pit, and fifty cents for the gallery. The seats in the former were long uncushioned benches without backs, and the cry to "sit closer" was common. As to the scenery, the less said about it the better: it was execrably bad. But the acting compensated all deficiencies. There was Warren, the best Falstaff and the best Sir Peter Teazle that ever trod any stage; Wood, whose Joseph Surface, Young Marlowe, Captain Absolute, could not be excelled; Duff and his wife, admirable as tragedians; the elder Booth; Mr. and Mrs. Francis; Wallack, at the head of what is known as genteel comedy; Jefferson, the grandfather of Rip Van Winkle, whose Tony Lumpkin was renowned; Thayer, one of the best light comedians of the

day—these, with Mr. and Mrs. Barnes and others, were the stock company which, oscillating between Philadelphia, Baltimore and Washington, attracted crowds to Old Holliday before the stars of the theatrical heaven dimmed inferior luminaries.

Literature in those days was represented by the Library which then had its home next door to the theatre, and to the credit of the city be it said, its admirable collection of books, now belonging to the Historical Society, was thoroughly appreciated and in constant use. Above the Library, and of easy access from what has been spoken of as the Court end of Baltimore, was the assembly room.

Perhaps the best way, at the present time, to obtain a good idea of the beauty for which Baltimore is celebrated, is to join the crowd which on Tuesday afternoon, when the weather is fine, is to be met on North Charles Street. Fifty years ago and upwards, the fashionable promenade was on the banks of "the canal," so-called, which was in fact the mill race some twelve feet wide with a border of the same width that fed the pump-house at the corner of Saratoga and Calvert Streets, from which the water was forced to what was then the high service reservoir at the south-west corner of Franklin and Cathedral Streets. The canal passed in front of the Waterloo Row, whose name suggests the date of its erection, to the dam, then known as Keller's dam, under the old Belvedere Street Bridge. On the west side of the race there was a steep green bank which, when an execution took place in the jail yard, was crowded with thousands and formed an amphitheatre from which the grim spectacle could be viewed. Literally and truly, the borders of the canal were the only promenade which the city then possessed.

Thirdly. The society of Baltimore fifty years ago is now to be spoken of. Of course, the term is one of considerable scope, and the difficulty is to deal with the subject without going into details. Perhaps it may, in this connection, be defined as consisting of those who have already obtained position more or less exclusive and of those who are striving to reach it. In this country, wealth, professional rank and exceptional qualifications outside of wealth and rank constitute claims to become members of it. As cities

increase in size society divides itself into circles in a country where there is no hereditary rank to perpetuate a particular and exclusive class. There was no such division fifty years ago. Wealth had much less to do with social position then than it has now. In 1824, a salary of three thousand dollars per annum gave its possessor the reputation of being a rich man. The cashiers of great banks got no more. When Mr. Louis McLane was invited to take the presidency of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company he was offered $4,000, which was regarded as a very great salary, sufficient to tempt him to leave New York, where he was President of the Morris Canal and Banking Company. Few professional men made more. If people's means were moderate, their expenses were in proportion. A lady's silk dress could be obtained, trimmings and all, for $12. Eight yards of *gros de Naples* were all that were required at one dollar per yard. If a merchant's wife, whose husband was in fair business, gave $100 for an India shawl, if it did not affect his business credit, it was a matter greatly talked about. There was a club composed of the leading belles of the city called "The Cotton Cambric Society," who rejoiced in not wearing silk at balls and parties; nor have I ever understood that they perilled the reputation of Baltimore for beauty on that account. It was necessary to have the reputation for wealth in those times to justify keeping a carriage. Indeed, in 1824 I think that there were not a dozen private carriages in Baltimore, not because of the excellence of the hacks, for they were worse than indifferent, but because the style of living was plainer and that strife had not yet arisen in which victory consists in outdoing your neighbor in dress and equipage. And yet in the Assembly room of this time, when a winter never passed without three or four subscription assemblies in the apartments over the City Library, there was a gathering of as much elegance, beauty, grace, refinement and intelligence as has ever been brought together since. In a word, society was on a simpler, easier and more natural footing than it afterwards became. Mothers and fathers still accompanied their children to balls and parties, mature ladies still danced while daughters looked on. The cotillon ruled the day; an occasional

whirl in what was called a Spanish dance, was regarded as of doubtful propriety; and when a couple more audacious than the rest went to the extreme of a regular waltz, mothers turned their backs in dismay, and melancholy were the predictions of the future. The general dinner hour was two o'clock, and merchants went to their counting rooms afterwards. Tea-parties were common, ending often with a dance on the carpet to the music of a piano. At a State dinner all the dishes were set on the table at the same time, and woe to the guest who had a popular dish before him. Courses were unheard of. Now, of course, all this is changed. Much more might be said. The Greek Ball, the Ball to Lafayette, the Fancy Ball—all great events of the day—might be described; but these reminiscences have already been too much extended, and I must stop at the threshold of personal experiences, and be satisfied with saying, that looking back upon the society of Baltimore more than half a century ago, it may be safely said of it, that nothing more honorably characterized it than its intelligence and refinement.

RICHARD INGLE IN MARYLAND.

The name of Richard Ingle is well known to every one at all acquainted with the history of the early days of the Colony of Maryland, but as the details of what occurred during his two last visits are not well known, the following narration of those events, as they are described in the evidence in several suits brought before the High Court of Admiralty, sitting in London in the year 1645, will be of interest.

One of these suits was brought by Ingle on his return from his last voyage, against the Dutch ship, the *Speagle* or "Looking Glass," to have her condemned as a prize, on the ground that he had a letter of marque authorizing him to seize all vessels and goods belonging to persons in opposition to Parliament, or who were trading in places in arms against it, both of which conditions, he averred, applied to the *Speagle* which he had captured in the river Saint George in Maryland.

The decision of the Court was adverse to his claim, whereupon he appealed therefrom, and Sir Nathaniel Brent and Dr. Robert Aylett were appointed "Judices Delegati" to hear and decide the case. A record of the evidence and proceedings was made up for them, and this record is preserved in the Public Record Office in London, but unfortunately no one as yet has found anything to show what was the decision of these "Judges Delegate" in this very interesting case.

Another suit was one brought by Giles Brent and Thomas Copley against Richard Ingle and John Durford for damages incurred by them in consequence of the actions of Ingle and his mate Durford, when they were in Maryland in 1644/5.

The record of this suit is among the papers of the High Court of Chancery, which have not yet been calendared or indexed, and the writer must express his thanks to R. G. Marsden, Esq., of the Inner Temple, for kindly giving him a reference to this and other suits instituted about the same time, and referring to the same things.

Richard Ingle was (in 1645) 36 years old, and had been in the Maryland Trade some years; for he was in Maryland as Master of the Ship *Richard and Annie,* "after Leonard Calvert took the Isle of Kent," and agreed with the said Calvert to go to the island and get 40,000 pipe staves which were there ready for shipment. He had been greatly befriended by Capt. Cornwallis for the five or six years preceding 1645, and frequently said that he was under great obligations to him, the said Cornwallis, and even that he owed him his life. On one occasion he was of service to Cornwallis and saved his goods from being confiscated, as will be seen from the deposition of Jonas Carswell of Saint Botolph's, made in 1645, but relating to the voyage of Ingle in 1643, when Cornwallis not only shipped goods to England by the *Reformation,* but took passage in her for himself.

"In May 1644, the Deponent, Jonas Carswell, had a warrant from the Committee for Sequestrations to seize upon the goods of Capt. Cornwallis as a Papist, when they came in a ship whereof one Ingle was Master, which things were said to have lately come from Maryland, and going aboard the said Ship in the Thames seizing the goods of Cornwallis, he spoke with Ingle who did speak very much on behalf of Capt. Cornwallis, saying he was the means of saving all the ships seized in Maryland and that for his part, he, Ingle, was specially beholden to him, Cornwallis, for he, Cornwallis, had saved his, Ingle's life, & Ingle did afterwards appear before the Committee at Camden House, & there in the presence & hearing of this Deponent did again speak very much on behalf of Cornwallis, & for the good he had done him, Ingle & the State, insomuch that by his, Ingle's means Cornwallis' goods were freed & released. The Deponent believeth Ingle knew Cornwallis to be a very honest man, and he often said Cornwallis was a friend to him & his.

(signed) Josiah Carswell.

Many other witnesses testified that Ingle often spoke in the same way of Capt. Cornwallis, and of how much he, Ingle, owed to him, for what Cornwallis had done for him, Ingle, especially when he and his ship were seized in 1643 / 4. It was well known

that at that time Capt. Cornwallis strongly advised that Ingle and his vessel should be released, and John Lewger, Secretary of the Colony, deposed that Cornwallis was the chief Agent in having Ingle released, and offered to be bound for him "body for body," but whatever gratitude Ingle may have felt or expressed towards Cornwallis, for this and other benefits, he was not deterred by such feelings, from sending a party to plunder the house and plantation of Cornwallis, as will be seen later.

Richard Ingle was master and part owner of the *Reformation*, a ship which arrived in Maryland in January 1643/4 on a trading voyage; and about the end of the month was arrested on a charge made by William Hardidge of speaking treasonable words against the King's Majesty, and kept in confinement for part of a day, but Hardidge withdrew his charge and Ingle was released and allowed to return to his ship in the evening.

The circumstances of his arrest and the seizure of the *Reformation* were dwelt upon at much length in the suit of Ingle vs. the *Speagle* or "Looking Glass," and were as follows, viz:

The *Reformation* was lying in the river Saint George, when Capt. Giles Brent, Governor of Maryland in the absence of Leonard Calvert in England, accompanied by Captain Thomas Cornwallis, Wm. Hardidge, John Hampton and other inhabitants of Maryland went on board of her, seized the arms and ammunition and nailed a paper to the mast to the effect that the ship and cargo were seized in the name of the King. At this time, Ingle was under arrest and the greater part of the crew were ashore cutting wood or otherwise employed in work for the ship.

Captain Brent offered to those on board an oath to be true to the King, which they refused to take, and he took drink and drank saying "Here's a health to the King sans Parliament" and told John Durford that he should be Master of the *Reformation* and carry her to Bristol in England, to which Durford answered that he would do nothing without Ingle's consent.

Governer Brent and Captain Cornwallis armed thirty of the Marylanders and gave them orders to keep guard over the ship and crew, and then went ashore.

Richard Jarrett or Garrett the quartermaster of the *Reformation*

and William Durford, brother of John Durford, but an inhabitant of Maryland, were on Saint Inigoes Point intending to go on board the *Reformation* when Captain Cornwallis and others met them and compelled them to go to Brent's house where they were detained as prisoners about an hour, after which Cornwallis went on board the ship with them, when they found her held by a guard of thirty armed men.

The ship and crew were thus held for ten or twelve hours, when Capt. Cornwallis accompanied by Ingle went on board after night had come, and ordered the guard to lay down their arms, and return them to the Gunner of the *Reformation* saying "go every man to his rest." Thus was the ship released and, as is well known, Cornwallis was fined 1,000 pounds of tobacco for his share in it.

After this, Ingle went on with his trading and for weeks or months as John Durford and others of the ship's company testified, "he enjoyed free trade and commerce in Maryland and departed thence peaceably."

He received 8,000 pounds of tobacco from Giles Brent, and quantities from other inhabitants of Maryland, and Giles Brent lent him a pinnace that he might collect the tobacco due to him in different parts of the Colony.

After his arrest and before he left Maryland, Ingle asked for, and received, the grant of a certain island, which at his request, was called "Ingle's Island," of which he took possession by putting hogs on it to "inhabit it."

Although no mention is made of the situation or size of this island, there can be no doubt in regard to the grant of "Ingle's Island," for Giles Brent, Governer, and John Lewger, Secretary of Maryland, both testified that it was made.

Neither Ingle nor any one of his crew, spoke of any damage or loss to him or his ship other than what has been mentioned, and there is no exception to the expression of the general belief, that he departed peaceably and "without any show of discontent or dislike at all."

It must not be forgotten that at this time civil war was raging in England, and that the King was in Oxford, surrounded by his adherents, while the Parliament was sitting in London, which was a

stronghold of those who supported its claim to be "King and Parliament."

When Ingle returned to England, he averred that his arrest and the seizure of his ship, were due solely to the fact that he, his ship and crew belonged to London and to Londoners, and that Maryland was a stronghold of Papists and those who supported the King in opposition to the Parliament.

He also said: that Brent, Cornwallis and Lewger were the prime movers in his arrest and the seizure of his ship, "animating and assisting the others," and that they endeavoured to induce the mate and the ship's company to carry the *Reformation* to Bristol in England, which was then held by the adherents of the King, offering them double wages if they would do so; that they offered an oath to the mate and the rest of the ship's company, binding them to assist the forces in arms against the Parliament, and that the mate and others, taking advantage of the absence of those who held the ship, regained possession of her; but he said nothing about his release from arrest, or even that he was released.

While these events were happening in Maryland, a commission was issued by the King at Oxford (dated 26th January 1643/4) to Leonard Calvert, in which after reciting that "Our Rebellious Subjects of the Citty of London drive a great trade in the Dominion and Collony of Virginia receiving dayly great advantages from thence which they ympiously spend in vaste Contribucons towards the maintenance of an unnatural warre against us," authorizes Leonard Calvert to proceed to Virginia and there, with the assistance of the Governer, Sir William Berkeley, to seize all ships, goods and debts, belonging or due to any Londoner, or any person from in any place in actual rebellion against the King, and provides that one half of all goods, effects or vessels so seized shall belong to the King.

Although this commission gave no authority to seize goods or vessels in Maryland, it was the cause of an uneasy feeling in the Colony, for nearly all their trade was with London, and to have that interfered with, would bring ruin to many of the inhabitants, and they therefore took measures to avert such a catastrophe.

After the return of Leonard Calvert from England, an Assembly

was held at Mr. Pope's house in Saint Maries, and Thomas Sherman asked Calvert if he had a commission for Maryland, when Calvert replied that he had not, nor would he permit such a commission to be enforced while he was Governor. The Assembly then declared that, they would have free trade, and there should be no interruption to the trade of ships from London or anywhere else.

A letter was sent to Ingle by Leonard Calvert in which he told "of the good affections of the inhabitants of Maryland to the Parliament and their desire of free trade with Ingle or other Londoners," and a letter in similar terms was written by Thomas Copley.

Ingle had departed from Maryland in peace with the inhabitants as was supposed, and the action of the Assembly, with these letters from the Governer and one of the leading men of the Colony might be expected to strengthen this pleasant state of affairs, but Maryland was soon to learn that all was *not* peace between them and Richard Ingle, for he was going to show the colonists that he had neither forgotten, nor forgiven them for, the arrest of himself and the seizure of his ship.

Before he sailed again for Maryland, the Parliament passed an Act, authorizing the Lord High Admiral to issue letters of marque to "any of His Majesty's good and loyal subjects to seize and take all ships and vessels with their goods and Company, in or outward bound to or from any place in hostility against the King and Parliament, or that shall be found to have traded with any of the Inhabitants of such place since their desertion of the King and Parliament."

The Parliament still kept up the fiction that their acts were the acts of the King as well as of themselves, and that their adherents were loyal subjects of the King, although they were in arms against his Majesty Charles the first; and one of these letters of marque was issued to Richard Ingle Commander of the *Reformation*.

He averred that Maryland was "in opposition and hostility against the King and Parliament," and that the inhabitants thereof used all "means to suppress such of London as came thither," and to seize and take their ships and goods, as well as those of all other places well affected to the King and Parliament.

He arrived in Virginia in the month of February 1644/5, and there he heard of the commission to Leonard Calvert, a copy of which was given to him by William Claiborne, who said that "the original had been registered in the Court there." He also heard stories of the conduct of Calvert in Virginia, such as that he would have seized a ship and cargo there, if he could have gotten any help, and that he tried to get hold of money and goods belonging or owing to Ingle, but there is nothing but hearsay evidence to these assertions.

He now proposed to his ship's company—who had been engaged on regular wages for an ordinary trading voyage—that they should go with him on a "Man of War cruize" to Maryland, offering them one-sixth of whatever he could take or capture while there, which offer, it is to be supposed, was accepted by all, as there is no evidence that it was opposed by any one, and many of the crew testified that they claimed their share of all that should be adjudged prize to Ingle.

The *Reformation* arrived in Saint George's River in Maryland, on the 24th of February, and found at the mouth of Saint Ignatius' Creek the Dutch ship *Speagle*, which had arrived there three days after Christmas, and had, since that time, been trafficking or trading with the Marylanders. At the time of the coming of Ingle, she was at anchor and had at her topmast the colours of the Prince of Orange and the English flag over her stern.

When the *Reformation* came in sight, the master and company of the *Speagle* seeing an English ship with a white flag out, supposed she was a friend, and when Ingle, in the name of the King and Parliament, ordered the master to come on board, he went, accompanied by three of his crew who were Englishmen. He then told Ingle where he was from, what he was doing in Maryland, and where he was going when his loading was finished.

The *Speagle* was owned by Messrs. Cornelius Coninckе and Peter Sonemans and Company, who were merchants and magistrates of Rotterdam, and had chartered her to Mr. John Glover and Mr. Brookes, English merchants resident in Rotterdam, for a trading voyage to Virginia, or some place near by, and back to a port in Holland. The owners shipped in her some goods, such as sugar,

strong waters, lemons, hats, shirts, stockings, frying-pans, &c. valued at 2,338 guilders, for which they expected to receive in return, tobacco, beaver skins, and other commodities, which would be worth in Holland six times that amount.

When the master of the *Speagle* had finished his account of his voyage, Ingle "detained" him and his men prisoners on the *Reformation*, and after firing four guns at the *Speagle*, he set off with some of his men to board her, with all the speed he could, "to prevent the effusion of blood," as he himself said, but he did not say, nor did any one else, why he expected "effusion of blood."

As a matter of fact, he met with no resistance, and found no one to oppose him, until he went to enter the cabin, when he found the doors closed and fastened against him. He called for axes and other implements, "and after hewing at them," the doors were opened by those inside, who "yielded themselves."

When Ingle and his party entered the cabin, they found Mr. Brooks, one of those who had chartered the ship and had come to Maryland in her, and afterwards, between decks, Giles Brent, who was made a prisoner and carried to London by Ingle.

Ingle alleged as his reason for this and his other exploits in Maryland, that the greatest number of persons and families in Maryland were "Papists and of the Popish and Romish Religion," and that nearly all of them assisted Leonard Calvert in putting his commission in force in Maryland; that they had so carried things that before his—Ingle's—arrival none but Papists and those of the Romish religion were suffered to hold office or any command; that it was generally believed in the Colony if he had not come thither, the Papists would have disarmed all the Protestants, and that all the property that was taken or destroyed by him or his men belonged to Papists and those of the Romish religion.

He laid great stress on the fact that the guns on the *Speagle* were loaded and that she was ready for a fight, from which he argued that they intended to attack the *Reformation*, and were only prevented from so doing by his prompt action. To this the Dutch captain answered that if he had intended to attack Ingle, there was no reason why he should not have done so, but that his ship

was always kept in readiness for a fight, as he never was sure that he would not be attacked by the Indians.

There was another vessel in Maryland at this time, which lay about four leagues from the *Reformation*, and her master was also ordered to come on board and give an account of himself. This he did, saying that he was bound for London with his cargo, and Ingle permitted him to return to his ship, expecting to see him again the next day; but during the night he got under way, and Ingle saw him no more.

John Durford, mate of the *Reformation*, was put in command of the *Speagle*, and Ingle was now in command of two ships, mounting, one twelve, and the other eleven guns, so that he had the Colony at his mercy, and proceeded to carry out his ideas of a "man of war voyage."

He sent men ashore to seize the tobacco and other goods which were there to be shipped on board the *Speagle*.

There were 49 hhds. of tobacco which belonged to Messrs. Glover and Brookes who had chartered the vessel; 26 to Leonard Calvert, Governor of Maryland, and 24 to the captain, boatswain, gunner and other petty officers of the *Speagle*, each owning two or three hhds. They also took guns and many goods and effects from the people of the country, burnt some of their houses, and so terrified them that they fled to the woods for safety.

A party was sent in pursuit of Leonard Calvert, but they were met and turned back by Messrs. Phoenix, Lewger, Buicks, Copley, Cawson and one other, so that the Governor was not taken to London as a prisoner, as no doubt Ingle hoped to do.

Parties were sent out by Ingle with orders to plunder the houses of Papists, and among others, that of Capt. Cornwallis, which during his absence in England was held for him by a "Papist captain from Virginia" who surrendered "on quarter."

Ingle's men took 20 hhds. of tobacco, some muskets, and much "householde stuffe," such as plate, linen, bedding, tapestry hangings, carpets, brass, pewter, &c., with chests, trunks and many other things which were taken on board the *Reformation* and the *Speagle*. Captain Cook of the latter vessel said that he had been at the house of Capt. Cornwallis six or seven times and that

it was very well furnished, carpets, tapestry hangings, silver, &c., and that he was there after the visit of Ingle's men, and that they had left nothing except the bed on which the wife and children of Cornwallis lay.

They also took a small pinnace, four negroes, and twelve other men and maid servants, all belonging to Cornwallis. This pinnace was not over a year old, was well fitted with sails, anchors, cables, had three small guns, and a shallop and small boat, and was well worth £500.

They spared Cornwallis's house, but burned his storehouses to the ground, in which he was more fortunate than some, for Mr. Gerrard's house, one of Mr. Copley's, and many of other persons were rifled and burned.

A party headed by Thomas Green, boatswain of the *Reformation*, took from the house of a "Papist" called Nicholas Cawson two beds, a rug, a small trunk, and a musket, which they carried to the fort there for the use of the soldiers, but the name of the fort is not given nor is it clear whether they gave the soldiers all that they took from Mr. Cawson's house, or only the musket.

There was a pinnace called the *Shotlocker*, belonging to Giles Brent, which was boarded by Ingle or some of his men, and from which they took a chest with clothes in it, two guns, linen, books of accounts and other things worth over £200 sterling, all which belonged to Giles Brent, who with his sister Margaret, owned another pinnace called the *Phoenix*, which was also seized with a small boat belonging to her. The *Phoenix* and furniture were valued at £200, and they took from her bedding and other things worth £10, and from a boat belonging to Francis Brookes, they took some goods belonging to Giles Brent and lately bought by him, such as linen, shoes, stockings, sugar, &c., worth £40, and also a little "cabbonett" containing jewels, belonging to Mrs. Giles Brent or Mistress Margaret Brent, valued at twenty pounds.

Giles Brent with his wife and family had lived for some years on Kent Island, where he had a dwelling house and plantation, and his sister Margaret often passed much time with him, and had a great deal of property in his house ; while her own house was in Saint Maries, where her brother Giles often visited her and kept

many goods, so that although they were not in partnership, they had an interest in common in much property.

Ingle took many goods both from Saint Maries and Kent, as well as eight servants belonging to Giles Brent or his sister Margaret, did much damage to the plantation and houses on Kent Island and carried off one hundred head of oxen, cows and heifers, one hundred hogs, wheat, barley and tobacco, and from the dwelling house, household goods and utensils valued at one hundred pounds.

Ingle seems to have had an especial horror of account books, bills, notes and papers, for they were always destroyed when he got hold of them, whether they belonged to Giles Brent, Cornwallis, Thomas Copley, the *Speagle* or others.

Thomas Copley had lived in Maryland about eight years, and as he said of himself, was "a sober, honest and peaceable man not given to contention or sedition, nor any way opposing or in hostility to the King and Parliament," and so he might have been, and probably was, but he was also a "Papist" and had a great deal of property, so that Ingle not only plundered his two large houses, but carried him off, a prisoner, when the *Reformation* and the *Speagle* sailed for London.

By the inventory filed with the libel in the English Admiralty Court in the suit of Copley and the Brents against the *Reformation*, a copy of which is appended to this paper, it appears that even in those early days, there was considerable luxury in the colony. It includes, beside massive silver plate, jewelry of gold, diamonds, sapphire and ruby, tapestry embroidered in gold and silver, and "a faire library of books."

When Ingle sailed for London, he had the *Reformation* and the *Speagle* both well laden with the things which he had gathered in his "man-of-war cruise," and also three prisoners—Giles Brent, Thomas Copley, and John Lewger; but what he intended doing with them when he reached London, it is impossible to say.

Before reaching his destination, and when near Plymouth, he summoned on board the *Reformation* John Durford, who had been put in command of the *Speagle*, and one of its mates named Been, and told them he would have Brent and Copley thrown into the

sea; but one of the mates would not agree to it, and prevented him from doing so.

When London was reached, Brent and Copley went free, and they brought suit against Richard Ingle and John Durford for damage to their persons and property, but no record of any decision in this case, nor in the suit brought by Ingle to have the *Speagle* condemned as a prize to him, has been discovered, so that we cannot say whether Ingle was the gainer by his "plundering" in Maryland; but we can say that he neither forgave nor forgot those who were concerned in his arrest in 1643/4, and that he not only avenged himself on them, but left behind him such a track of devastation that long after we find in the records people dating from "the plundering time"; and it is not to be wondered at that since that voyage his name should be coupled with reproach and infamy, and his memory associated with deeds of violence and outrage.

Libel of Thomas Copley and the Brents against the Reformation.
(*Admiralty Court Libels* 167, *No.* 205—*P. R. O.*)

Thomas Copley Giles Brent & Margaret Brent his sister agst *Reformacon* Captain Richard Ingle & John Durford Mate Imprimis that for the last 4 5 6 or 7 yrs last Giles & Margarett Brent have resided in Maryland & the said Giles hath kept a house wife & familie at a place called Kent—& Marg^{t} is sister to Giles, & did at divers times come to & reside with Giles Brent at his house at Kent aforesaid & did keepe or leave in her Brothers said house divers goods and chattells and household stuff & Mag^{t} Brent had likewise a house in Md at a place called S^{t} Maries & Giles did at divers times reside for part of the year with his Sister at her house in S^{t} Maries where he had certain goods &c In anno Domini 1644 & in the months therein respectively concurring as also in Mch Apl & May 1645 G. B. had at his house & farm, divers Cattle and other commodities to the value of £2,000 lawful money a stock which was continually growing.

In the month & year above mentioned R^{d} Ingle was Captain

& Commander & part owner of the *Reformacon* & the said John Durford was Ingles mate.

Ingle & Durford arr in one of the months aforesaid & after their arrival Ingle & Durford or some of Ingles Compy went aboard a pinace called the *Shotlocker* & took out of the same one chest with clothes in it two guns linen & other commodities to the value of £14 sterlg & divers writings books of Accounts & specialties to the value of £200 sterling all which articles did belong to Giles Brent

In the months afsd G. B. & Marg B. or one of them was owner of a certain pinnace called the *Phoenix* & Ingle or Durford or someone by their order seized the *Phoenix* with a small boat belonging to her and took out of the *Phoenix* bedding and other commodities to the value of 10^{lb}

The said Pinnace & furniture was worth £50 legal money of England Ingle took out of a boat belonging to Francis Brookes, goods chattels & commodities belonging to Giles Brent & newly bought by him & belonging to G. B. or M. B. or one of them Linen shoes stockings sugar &c to the value of £40—as also a little cabbonett containing Jewels &c belonging to Giles Brent, his wife or Margarett Brent or one of them to the value of £20

Ingle or some by his order seized G. B. on the high sea & brought him to England & the said Brent has suffered a loss of £1.000 in the loss to his Estate of his supervision & care

Brent was detained a Prisoner on Cap^{t} Ingles Ship or the *Lookingglass* which Ingle was de facto possessed of

Ingle seized the goods in the Schedule belonging to G. B. and M. B. or one of them & which were worth the several sums of money set opposite to them At the time aforementioned and for 8 years Thomas Copley lived in Maryland a sober honest and peaceable man not given to contention nor sedition nor any way opposing or in hostility to the King and Parliament

Ingle & Durford or some by their authority seized the person of Th^{os} Copley & kept him prisoner aboard Ingles Ship & brought him to the port of London

Thomas Copley was owner of the goods in the second Schedule

Ingle & Durford or some by their orders took the said goods from T. C. by main force

Burnt some of T. Cs houses killed & dispersed his cattell being 60 in number besides hogs & shoats, disposed of his servants, being some 20 in number

T. C. suffered loss amounting to £2.000

After Ingle had seized G. B. & T. C. he put them on the *Looking Glass* which he took from a Dutchman & when near Plymouth sent to the L. G. for John Durford whom he had made Master of the L. G. and one Been another of his mates to come aboard the *Reformacon* which they accordingly did. Ingle told them he wd have Brent & Copley thrown overboard but one of his mates would not agree to it, but Ingle would have done it if it had not been for the Mate who prevented him from so doing

Rd Ingle & his ship were arrested and stayed at Maryland 1643/4 on a charge by one W^m^ Hardige of words spoken by Ingle agst the Kings Majesty of England and chgd by said Hardidge to be treason Hardidge let fall his accusation at instigation of Ingle & went to V^a^

After the said Hardidge let fall his accusation the sd Ingle had liberty to pursue his occasions and that he R. I. received quantities of Tobac. from Inhabitants of Maryland & particularly he received 8,000 weight from Giles Brent then Governour & G. B. gave Ingle a pinnace to go to get the Tob. which was due to him & Ingle departed out of Md peaceably & quietly "without any show of discontent or dislike at all."

In 1643/4 & after he had been arrested & before he had left Md, he came to G. B. & desired a grant of a certain Island in Maryland which G. B. granted to him & apptd at his Ingles request to be called Ingles Island & Ingle was possessed of sd Island & sent hogs there and inhabit the same.

Mr Calvert had a commission from the King, but it was directed to the Gov^r^ & Council of V^a^ & had power & force only there & not at all in Md. The first Assembly after Calverts arrl declared they would have free trade with Londoners & other und the protection of Parlt and that they would not receive any Com. to the contrary & Th^os^ Copley or G. B. or one of them did [write]

a letter to Ingle from Calvert telling him to signifying [*sic*] the good affections of the Inhabitants of Md to the Parlt. & their desire of Free Trade with Ingle or other Londoners & T. C. also writ a letter to Ingle as aforesaid which letters are in the possession of R^d^. Ingle or John Durford

Prima schedula de qua in libello predicto fit mentio

	£ s d
Imprimis at two severall places viz S^t^ Maries and Kent 100 head of neat cattle as oxen cows heafers worth	40.00.00
Item 20 Sheep worth there	50.00.00
" abt 100 hogs	50.00.00
" in wheat barly pease 200 bushells worth . .	40.00.00
" in Tobacco with * * * taken from severall places in Maryland 6157^lbs^ worth	120.00.00
" in household goods from the Isle of Kent, utencells to the value of	100.00.00
" 8 Apprentice Servants taken from S^t^ Maries and from Kent viz William Cavert (?), Thomas Rookwood, John Delahay, Henry Topping, Christopher Atkinson, Zacharias Wade, John Hare (?), plowman, and Cornelius a plowman	160.00.00
	£960.00.00

Secunda Schedula de qua in libello predicto fit mentio

5 great bolles double gilt worth	30.00.00
14 silver spoons	7.00.00
2 small silver salts	2.00.00
2 silver cruetts	1.10.00
1 smal silver Bason	2.00.00
2 silver dram cupps	13. 4
Some other small pieces of plate	1.00.00
one great Diamond	200.00.00
two small chaines of gold	60.00.00
two Jewells containing in each 8 diamonds . .	32.00.00
one other Jewell with one faire Diamond and Ruby	20.00.00

two braceletts of gold	2.00.00
Engraven Agetts	1.00.00
4 or 5 diamond Rings	10.00.00
one ring with a great saphir	5.00.00
2 silver chaine	1.00.00
other chaines enamelled	2.00.00
2 faire cloaks lined with plush and thick laced	20.00.00
2 faire black clokes lined with black baize	15.00.00
Suts, belts, garters, stockings boots &c	20.00.00
one faire peece of imginane [*sic*] Arras wrought with gold and silke	50.00.00
ffoure other peeces of arras hanging	30.00.00
eight good fether bedds furnished	40.00.00
Two fflocke bedds furnished	30.00.00
Linnen, pewter, brass, Iron and all other kinds of household Stuffe sufficient to furnish plentifully 2 large houses	200.00.00
one ffaire Library of Bookes	150.00.00
36 gunnes	36.00.00
Goods bought from the Dutch Shipe for 1200^{lb} of tobacco	120.00.00
2.000^{lb} of Tobaccoe	400.00.00
600 bushells of Indian corne	60.00.00
English corne, wheat, oats barly pease	20.00.00
one boy sold at Virginia	20.00.00
	1598.13. 4

more

Two great Shallop and one small boate	20.00.00
Indenture, books of account and bills	500.00.00
60 head of neat cattell	360.00.00
21 Servants made unusefull	210.00.00
	1810.00.00
30lbs of Beaver worth	15.00.00

SOLDIER'S DELIGHT HUNDRED IN BALTIMORE COUNTY.

Soldier's Delight has been one of the most extensive tracts of land in the State; it filled at one time a large place on the maps and in the records; yet I cannot find any one who knows much about it, and, when I resided in Baltimore County, I never was able to come across any one willing to admit that he lived there. I know that I did not live in Soldier's Delight, though often accused of it, and though adjacent to it, as I was adjacent also to "Possum Hollow" and to "Dumb Quarter." It used to be said at Princeton College that all the North Carolina students claimed residence either in Virginia or South Carolina—just across the line—and there are to-day hundred of likely farmers travelling the Liberty and Reisterstown roads, who will inform you, with delicious sincerity, that they dwell "just on the edge" of Soldier's Delight.

The reproaches which the ancient hundred had to meet are not as sharp now, however, as they were at one time. The tract is increasing in value as it diminishes in extent. When I first knew it, about 1844, there must have been several thousand acres of wilderness in the tract, covered thickly with scrubby black oak and sassafras, with a fringe of small pines and spruces—only two roads, the Lyons' Mill and the Deer Park, traversing it in a winding way. It was the easiest place in the world to be lost in, and about the worst place, too, for it was full of pits and shallow shafts, sunk in search of the chromic iron ore which abounded there. It was the place of all others to catch a boy's fancy, however, for these stunted black oaks and pea-stick sassafrases were the primæval forest. This land had never been cultivated. It was just as the Indians had left it, and there were still legends of solitary deer seen bounding swiftly across its deep openings, and of bears encountered by belated coon-hunters. At that period it was said of Soldier's Delight people that some of them only came

out once a year—to vote—and that it often took them till Christmas to find their way home again. It abounded in game. The hollows were full of hares; the squirrels from all the country side around came there after the black oak acorns, and every September, just about the equinox, great clouds of wild pigeons used to descend upon it, for acorns and sassafras berries.

I can well remember my first visit to the place. It was in one of these September seasons when the pigeons are supposed to sit still on the trees in order to give you time to take good aim at them. I had been in the habit of spending my vacations at Mr. Henry Fite's place, called "Harmony Hall," which was next to Soldier's Delight, but not in it, of course. Mr. Fite, whose wife was my kinswoman, was an ardent sportsman, and a capital shot —if you gave him his own time to it. He was stout, and after dinner, when the squirrels were nutting or the pigeons flying, nothing delighted him so much as to go to a portion of his property, which he called "Standfast," and which was so overgrown with scrub oak and sassafras that I should have thought it part of Soldier's Delight, but for the fact that he protested it was not —and wait, in a blind, for the squirrels to bark and the pigeons to patter down their nuts. The law of the chase was to keep perfectly still, and, as Mr. Fite usually had his after dinner nap, sitting comfortably against a tree in the "blind" while I remained painfully awake, I am able to remember all about it. To compensate me for this tedium, the kind old gentlemen used sometimes to rig up his shandrydan and take me to Soldier's Delight with him. Afterwards I used to take my gun and go thither myself, and the features of the landscape, now almost totally changed by the impertinent intrusions of cultivation, are indelibly imprinted upon my memory. If you took the line of the Deer Park road you came almost suddenly to a spot where the fence ceased, the great forest melted down into the dwarfish umbrage I have spoken of, and your horse, from plunging fetlock deep in sticky red clay, came suddenly upon a hard dry road that rang under his hoofs with more elasticity than an asphalt pavement in winter. This roadbed was one of the best in the world, though vitiated sometimes by the outcropping of huge green or grey boulders. It was

never muddy; it could not be cut into ruts; it dried in an hour after the heaviest and most protracted rains. There was no soil, so to speak; an inch and a half depth of it only, thin and porous, yielding nutriment to sedge, heather and poverty-grass. There were no briars, save, in hollows, some dwarfed eglantines of most exquisite fragrance. Underneath, was one mass of serpentine rock, finely comminuted on the surface, and overlying the deposits of chromate of iron. This land lay very high. The road traversed two or three rounded shoulders of hills, until it brought you to the highest, Berry's Hill, where in 1753 John Berry was hanged in chains for murder—the legends about his execution are still told throughout the neighborhood. From this point you have one of the finest views I know anywhere. When the atmosphere is clear you can see all around from the Blue Ridge Mountains to the Eastern Shore. Yonder are the Catoctin hills; here winds the valley of the Patapsco; over there is St. Thomas' Church, and over there again Doughoregan Manor. This way is Annapolis, and yonder flows Pipe Creek. As I first saw it, Soldier's Delight was singularly park-like for the work of nature. The woods were not continuous. The oaks grouped themselves in little groves, in which the *quercus ilicifolia*, with its compact head and its glistening waxy leaves, looked very handsome, in spite of its gnarled and weazen trunk and limbs—and the sassafras were distributed in orchards. At intervals an open glade extended down the hill side until it disappeared from sight in a briary ravine. No wonder they called the place Soldier's Delight. Why should people be ashamed of hailing from this hunter's paradise?

That, I suppose, came from the fact that the place was an elevated tract of barren soil, tilled by poor white people adjacent to fertile lands held by large slave-owners. Even in my time, some three or four families whose estates bordered on Soldier's Delight, the Worthingtons, Randalls, &c., must have held nigh upon 20,000 acres almost in a solid body, while beyond these, on several sides, were some of the chief manorial tracts in the State. Few people in Soldier's Delight owned many negroes, and the aristocrats on the fat acres in the lowlands rather lorded it over them in consequence.

They reckon without their hosts, however, who imagine that Soldier's Delight, as originally constituted, included only poor land and barren hill tops. At one time it embraced the richest lands in the State, the plateau of Westminster, the Pipe Creek and Middletown Valleys, the rich bottom lands of North Branch, where 20 barrels of corn to the acre is not an unusual crop. Soldier's Delight, in fact, like Baltimore County, had uncertain but very wide limits in its earlier stages. The County and the Hundred were both laid off as our western territories are now, with the view to further subdivision as population flows in. Baltimore County has furnished land for Kent, Cecil, Harford, Carroll, Frederick, Howard, and Anne Arundel Counties. Indeed, if we follow the original boundary between Baltimore and Prince George's County, the old county line would have run to the westward of Hagerstown before it struck Mason and Dixon's line. That boundary was the direction of the upper Patuxent.

The old Soldier's Delight Hundred began at the Patapsco, not far from the present Relay House. Its eastern boundary line was the Old Court road, extending from Elkridge Landing across country to Joppa. This road, which still follows the original bed and crosses the Reisterstown road at the Seven Mile House and the York road at Towsontown, is one of the oldest roads in the State. The Annapolis worthies used it to go to Joppa and to Philadelphia before Baltimore was thought about; and it was the Indian path from the Susquehanna to the Potomac at Piscataway. At or about the Reisterstown road, Soldier's Delight Hundred met Back River Upper Hundred. The dividing line between these two election districts ran northwest through the sites of Westminster and Taneytown to the Pennsylvania line, all of Baltimore County southwest of that line falling to the Soldier's Delight. This old Hundred, therefore, at one time included parts of what are now Cross and Lisbon Districts, in Howard County, with portions of what is still called "Carroll's big woods"—that is to say, the Forest—the second and part of the fourth districts of Baltimore County, the Freedom, Franklin, Woolery and New Windsor districts of Carroll, and the Liberty and other districts of Frederick County west to the Blue Ridge.

Its early population was not at all in proportion to its size. In fact, when the Hundred was first laid out, there were no people in it at all, except in the neighborhood of Elkridge. Baltimore County was peopled very curiously. The matter is worth looking into because it accounts for the tardy settlement of our city here. I doubt very much whether we should have had a city on this spot at all, but for the iron ores on the Middle and South branches of Patapsco. Baltimore is girded with a belt of very barren land, lying in a semi-circle just outside "the Belt." From Hunting Ridge west to Elysville you find it all barren. That whole width of country, northeast to the Reisterstown road, is the "White Grounds," a cold clay, full of boulders of trap rock, and impossible to drain. The Germans have lately brought it into tillage and made it productive, but it lay idle for a long while. The barren Soldier's Delight section joined this on the northwest and then you came round to the Bare Hills. There was nothing to invite settlers in any of these lands. Settlers, in fact, did not go upon them. They turned up their noses at the Patapsco and entered Baltimore County by way of the Gunpowder, the Susquehanna, the Bush, Back and Middle Rivers. It was not until settlements had been pushed far up the Gunpowder and Middle Rivers that the fertile valleys of Long Green and Green Spring were discovered. Simultaneously with this discovery, Anne Arundel planters found out that there were fertile lands to be had beyond the White Grounds. To this fact is due the circumstance that there is such a difference in the population of the Harford County and the Howard County sides of Baltimore County. The heads of the valleys were taken up by Anne Arundel planters; the more eastern parts by men who came from the rivers or down from Pennsylvania. The heads of the valleys were settled late, however. Worthington Valley was not patented until 1740, and the mass of the population for years after that was gathered about the rivers.

I have spoken of "Carroll's big woods." In fact, the whole interior of the country was called "the back woods," and the whole interior of Baltimore County, down to the top of the hill above us here, Charles and Saratoga Streets, was known as "the

Forest." Little Sharpe Street, indeed, which led right up to that corner, was known as Forrest Street originally. The French troops, after the surrender of Yorktown, were encamped in the woods where the Cathedral now stands. All this gives force and intelligibility to the proposition which the Rev. Benedict Bourdillon, rector of St. Paul's Parish, made to the Vestry of that Parish in May, 1741, to build a chapel of ease for the accommodation of *the forest inhabitants* of the parish. This led to the building of Saint Thomas' Church in Baltimore County.

Dr. Ethan Allen, in his very interesting sketches of the history of this church, says: "The Forest Inhabitants were the residents of what was then called, as it has ever since been, the *Garrison Forest.* It was so called, because of a fort and a garrison of soldiers, under the charge of Capt. John Risteau, high Sheriff of the County, stationed there, for the defense of these frontier inhabitants against the Indians. The garrison was not far north from where the U. S. Arsenal now is, and was on Capt. Risteau's plantation. This forest was in subsequent years, by some not knowing the previous history of the neighborhood, called Garretson forest, but was so called erroneously." Dr. Allen is partly right, partly wrong. There was a family on the edge of the forest of the name of Garretson, and this may have led some to fancy the derivation Dr. Allen hints at; but that is a modern perversion. All the old settlers knew the name to be Garrison Forest. Few understood why. There was a garrison there, not only in Capt. Risteau's time, but much earlier. It was possibly not always seated on that same spot. I am inclined to believe, however, that it was always located near the summit of Chesnut Ridge. The relation between Garrison Forest and Soldier's Delight must strike every one. There must have been a connection between the two, and I think it likely that the name Soldier's Delight was ironical.

When the Indians became troublesome, it was the policy of the Provincial government to plant a fort or block-house near them, to overawe them and prevent them from plundering the settlements. The fort was always an outpost, and in advance of the settlements. Thus, when the Susquehannocks threatened war and

water incursions, Col. Utie planted a fort on the island which bears his name in the mouth of the Susquehanna. When the Shawnees came down into the valleys of Frederick County, Governor Sharpe built Fort Frederick far up the Potomac. Before that, there was a fort at Piscataway, and another one north of it, at Garrison Landing, or Bladensburg, both to keep our Indians at home and to prevent other Indians from raiding upon them. The post in the Forest of Baltimore County was meant to serve several purposes, among others, to prevent Elkridge Landing from being surprised by the Susquehanna Indians, to guard the old court road, and to keep the hunting Indians west of the Monocacy from descending on the various river settlements. It was moreover a resting place and a post of the forest rangers, who rode their patrols around from Bladensburg to Joppa. In making this circuit, and they made it frequently when the Indians were on the war-path, the rangers crossed at what used to be called the forks of the Patapsco (the intersection of the north branch with Morgan's Run) until they struck what is now known as the Washington road, leading from Westminster to the Federal capital. In so doing they had to go through the tangled wilderness I have described. They called it Soldier's Delight because it was so difficult to get through and so easy to get lost in. Thus the section which still bears the title gave its name to all the rest of that widely extended district.

The records of Council proceedings and of the meetings of Assembly are filled with instances of those Indian alarms which led to the establishment of the Garrison in the Forest. In June, 1692, for instance, we find the Council meeting at Job Larkin's, in Elkridge, to take cognizance of the Indian troubles in Baltimore County and appoint rangers. Thomas Thurston was then put in command of the County soldiery. John Oldon writes to the Assembly on the same subject in 1696. Next year there is a letter from Mr. Boothby, and another letter complaining of "Indian insolence." The rangers must have been rather expensive to maintain; they were often discharged only to be put immediately to service again, and their accounts were carefully audited. I find that in 1697 the troops at Piscataway and in the

Forest Garrison were under the common command of Col. Addison, who was chief officer of the rangers intrusted with the protection of the *frontiers* of Baltimore and Prince George's Counties.

These Indian troubles in Baltimore County began in 1666, when we find some account of English murdered at the mill in Baltimore County. The next year there was a conscription to defend the province, every 20th person was called out and Baltimore County's quota was 36, showing a population of 720, nearly all of whom were east of the Gunpowder. The Garrison in the Forest was established about 1680, and the worst of the Indian troubles were over by the end of that century. The Piscataway Indians wandered off westward in 1699, and did not return in a body to their homes any more. The rangers were discontinued in the County in 1698, but the garrison was still maintained. It was necessary, because, while settlers pushed into the interior along the rivers on both sides of the County, they still avoided the middle part, and the Indians used to hunt a great deal in Soldier's Delight and down through the heavily wooded country where Jones' and Gwynn's Falls have their head-waters. My kinswoman, Mrs. Marcella Worthington, daughter of Joshua Owings, who was born in 1748 and lived till 1842, often used to speak of the Indian hunters who took shelter and got their bread in her father's kitchen, paying for such kindnesses with venison. The Indian troubles continued off and on until 1744, when the treaty with the Five Nations was negotiated at Lancaster. After that they gave no more annoyance until the defeat of Braddock. Then indeed for a time they caused alarm even in Baltimore and Annapolis, and their raiding parties crossed the Monocacy.

Dr. Allen notes the curious fact that in 1756, when there were still comparatively few inhabitants to be found north of the church, "and the county was mostly an unbroken wild-wood, where the Indians and wolves prowled not unfrequently, and the wild deer were often seen and hunted"—"after the defeat of Braddock, in 1775," he says, "the Indians passed down the side of Fort Cumberland to within 60 or 70 miles of St. Thomas, in large parties, for murder and plunder. It created great alarm over all this region. And it was probably at this time that we

hear of those who attended the church on the Lord's Day, burnishing their arms and preparing their ammunition on Saturday evenings, and next day at the sanctuary placing their guns in the corners of the pews during the hour of divine service. This was no doubt so, and yet all this not one hundred years ago [he wrote in 1852] in what we now call old Maryland."

The excitement soon subsided, however, and the central part of the country filled up very rapidly. Still, there were settlements up the Potomac as far as the Monocacy before population came into Soldier's Delight. It was not until 1740 that Samuel Worthington took up the lands in Worthington Valley. Captain Worthington, his grandfather, had a large estate on the Severn. One of his grandsons took up a large tract of land, part very rich, on the Baltimore County side of the Patapsco, from Elysville to Marriotsville and extending across into Soldier's Delight. Other settlers passed across in the same way; more spread up from Back and Middle Rivers and from Jones' Falls and the Patapsco, and in 1741 we find Rev. Mr. Bourdillon proposing to give the Forest inhabitants a church. These people could not attend St. Paul's Church in Baltimore town because there were no roads. The town was divided from the fertile forest country by several almost impassable ridges, and the roads followed the lines of the valleys, without attempting to cross the ridges, so that it was easier to go from Joppa to Elkridge than from Pikesville or Randallstown or Towsontown to Baltimore.

The General Assembly passed an act in 1742 in accordance with the petition of the rector and vestry of St. Paul's, empowering William Hamilton, Christopher Gist, Samuel Owings, Christopher Randall, and Nicholas Haile to receive voluntary subscriptions for buying a piece of land and building a chapel on it. The parish was to be assessed to make up deficiencies. Briefly, the lot was selected, and the present St. Thomas', or Garrison Forest Church, as it is commonly called, was built.

Dr. Allen gives the names of the original contributors and the amounts they subscribed. Mr. Bourdillon gave 2,000 pounds of tobacco. Mr. Joseph Cromwell gave £4. He lived in Soldier's Delight, and in 1775 his son Nathan was one of the Revolutionary

Committee of Safety for that election district. Edward Fotterall gave £3. Christopher Randall, who gave 300 pounds of tobacco, was of Soldier's Delight. It was he who gave his name to Randallstown, though it was his grandson who tilled the fine property near Randallstown called "Fell's Forest." Charles Ridgely lived at Hampton, in upper Back River Hundred; he gave £3 10s. Thomas Harrison, who gave £3, lived in Baltimore. Dorsey Petticord and William Petticord lived on the edge of Soldier's Delight, near the Patapsco. This was a family that had travelled up by degrees, taking new lands from time to time all the way from St. Mary's. Peter Gosnell lived in the heart of Soldier's Delight. The Gists had the property now owned by the McDonogh School and other land further up the Reisterstown road. Of other names in the list which belong to families still holding their original homesteads, I notice Helm, Ashman, Baker (in Soldier's Delight), Treadway, Choate (Edward), Seater, Stinchcomb, Murray, Howard, Gill, Bell, Chapman, Haile, Cockey. John Risteau's place is now in part owned by Mr. Thomas Cradock; Joshua Owings' place, in Soldier's Delight, went by his daughter's marriage to Thomas Worthington, who also represented Soldier's Delight in the Committee of Safety in 1775. Joshua Owings was one of the first vestrymen of St. Thomas's Church, and acted in that capacity and as church warden several times. He afterwards became one of the first converts of Robert Strawbridge to Methodism; his son Richard distinguished himself as an itinerant Methodist preacher, and his house was one of the regular stopping places of the preachers of that denomination on their rounds. Asbury made it his headquarters and has left some pleasing memoranda about the family.

The first vestry of St. Thomas' Parish consisted of Nathaniel Stinchcomb, John Gill, William Cockey, Joshua Owings, John Hamilton, and George Ashman, Peter Gosnell and Cornelius Howard, wardens, and Christopher Randall, register. Cornelius Howard's home place joined that of Joshua Owings. The old Stinchcomb homestead, on a ridge back of Randallstown and looking down upon the Old Court road, is standing now, apparently just as it was first built. The Gills still hold the old estate

near Dover, and you cannot go amiss for Cockeys in the upper Back River Hundred.

Soldier's Delight, when this Church was first built, still maintained its original proportions. But it and Baltimore County soon began to have cantles cut out of their broad sides. In 1748 Frederick County was established, and in 1750 the boundaries between it and Baltimore and Prince George's Counties were defined, so that Baltimore County and Soldier's Delight ran no further west than the Monocacy. In 1773 Harford County was cut off from Baltimore.

In 1775 Back River Upper Hundred had been divided, and, besides its own district, furnished those of Middlesex and Pipe Creek. Old Soldier's Delight now comprehended Soldier's Delight, North Hundred and Delaware Hundred. Delaware was that part of Soldier's Delight lying in the forks of the Patapsco. Rev. Mr. Cradock and his parishioners had built a chapel of ease here, which is now the Parish Church of Holy Trinity.

Dr. Allen's book abounds in curious particulars about St. Thomas' Parish. The names he gives are in great number and nearly always there is some interesting history connected with them. I often think that people do not pay a proper attention, in conducting historical investigations, to names of persons and places and to roads. The history of Maryland could almost be written without other aid if one had but the names of the people, the situs of the roads, and Bacon's and Kilty's laws and the Council book to help out. Names cling to localities in a wonderful way, and yet they travel about as mysteriously as the Rose of Jericho, and sometimes they vanish as suddenly as the Indian tribes vanished from Western Maryland. In Talbot County, for instance, there have always been, from the first, families of the name of Harrison, Benson and Dodson. A hundred years ago there were 150 of the name of Spencer in that county—a hundred and fifty years ago the Edmonstons were both wealthy and numerous there. Now, there is not a single Spencer in the county, nor, I believe, any Edmonstons. Yet I decline to believe these two families exotic or incapable of being naturalized. The Gists of Soldier's Delight have disappeared from there, but you will find

them in the West, in Kentucky and elsewhere. The Owingses and the Deyes are disappearing—even the fat lands of Frederick County could not keep them up.

Dr. Allen's little volume contains an anecdote which must afford some consolation to our modern politicians. It proves that there is nothing new under the sun, even to constructive expenses and tenderness as to "records." The old vestry of St. Thomas' Church existed in the days when vestries were vestries. They had police power. They could present people for Sabbath-breaking and other infringements upon the canon law and the ten commandments, and they were finable themselves for non-attendance at vestry meetings. These occurred once a month, by statutory provision, and if a member was absent without excuse, he had to pay 100 pounds of tobacco. The St. Thomas' Vestry were zealous, they lived a long way off, they thought the laborer was worthy of his hire, and accordingly, on April 16, 1750, we find them putting a very trifling charge upon the parish, to wit: "Agreed, to have a quart of rum, and sugar equivalent, on each vestry day, and as much diet as will give the vestry a dinner at the parish expense." The sexton was to provide the dinner, at a cost of 8 shillings, $1.06 each time. Dr. Allen thinks this was not much rum nor much dinner—but the register entered a large wide open eye in the margin of the vestry book over against this account; people probably talked about the way the vestry was squandering the public funds, and, on Jauuary 7, 1752, it was ordered that each vestryman and warden, in his turn, should provide a dinner and a quart of rum, at his own expense, "to take off the great scandal and charge the parish has labored under." It will be noticed that the vestry stuck to their quart of rum even while abandoning the idea of sweetening the beverage at the public expense.

Dr. Allen gives a list of the vestrymen of St. Thomas' parish from 1745 down to 1752, and this list recalls me to what I have already said about the significance of names as guide-posts in history. Some of the names in Soldier's Delight—the baptismal names I mean—are peculiar. Thus the names of Vachel and Rezin, in the Worthington family. Where such names are not

kept up by the white people, the negroes perpetuate them. Of the older vestrymen, William Cockey lived in Green Spring Valley, or opposite it, and the farm is still in the family. John Hamilton, whose family had a predilection for naming their females Sidney (it still survives among the Gills), lived on Jones' Falls. George Ashman lived on Satyr Ridge adjoining Cockey. Cornelius Howard, father of John Eager, George, Cornelius (who surveyed half of Baltimore County), &c., lived, as I have indicated, just west of Gwynn's Falls and the Old Court road, his property after his marriage to Miss Eager extending to the Spring Gardens. The name of Urath was and still is a favorite one for females in the Owings family. The Gists were always odd in family names—let Mordecai, Independence, States, testify to the fact.

William Baseman, vestryman in 1746, lived where his descendant still lives, on the Deer Park road, near North Branch, in Soldier's Delight. The name of Vachel, in this family, shows some connection with the Worthingtons. The name of Beale—the way in which it is spelled in all the old records proves that it must have been pronounced *Bale*—is common to the Dorseys, Worthingtons, Owingses, Randalls, &c. John Pindell, warden in 1751, used to live in Soldier's Delight on a property on the Lyon's Mill road, adjoining Thomas Worthington's. The place was afterwards owned by the Maynards and Owenses. The Chenoweths lived near the granite quarries at Woodstock, and are there still. Arthur Chenoweth was vestryman off and on from 1749 to 1760. John Ford, 1749, was a Soldier's Delight man, and some of the family are there still, near Reisterstown. Capt. Nicholas Orrick lived in Soldier's Delight, near Waters' campground; Robert Chapman in Soldier's Delight, near Liberty Road. John Shelmerdine, 1754, lived near, and Joshua Cockey at Cockeysville; Thomas Cockey Deye near Texas. The Stevensons lived in Green Spring Valley, the Johnsons on Chestnut Ridge. Solomon Bowen, vestryman in 1760, was near Black Rock. John Griffith, 1761, was in Soldier's Delight, opposite Pindell; Robert Tevis, 1767, lived near the forks of the Patapsco, adjoining the Welches. The Tevises intermarried with the

Owingses. They are Pennsylvanians, but the Maryland branches have removed to Kentucky and the west. Elias Brown, the great leader of Baltimore County Democracy, lived in this corner too. The Carnans dwelt near the Church, and Capt. Nicholson lived at Kensey John Worthington's.

The Soldier's Delight people have nearly all gone away long ago from the Episcopal Church. The rector who succeeded Parson Cradock, Mr. Edmiston, was a Tory; the 40 per poll tobacco tax disgusted them, the Methodist revival captivated them, and they have never come back. St. Thomas' Church gets no members from Soldier's Delight proper. Mount Paran is Presbyterian, Mount Nabo and the White Grounds are Methodist. The Basemans, Gosnells, &c., go to Ward's chapel, and it was an Owings Worthington who built Marcella Chapel.

The farmers in these rough hills and barren plains were a very different class from the slaveholders and tobacco growers who settled the fertile valleys. They were somewhat rude, independent, simple-mannered, fond of keeping their own counsel, plain and old-fashioned in dress. They liked to go to church and camp-meeting, to talk politics and attend political meetings. They rode good horses and were fond of fox-hunting. Take them altogether, they were the most primitive people within fifty miles of Baltimore.

THE BATTLE OF BLADENSBURG.

I.

A review of this most disastrous and discreditable defense of our Capital on August 24th, 1814, on the part of those most responsible for the same will not at this time be influenced by the political conditions existing at that time, which made it very difficult to get reliable testimony which was not biased to some extent.

I have undertaken this work of investigation from a sense of duty and justice, and to serve the double purpose of inspiring loyalty in the hearts of true patriots and a respect and honor for the volunteer soldiers of our State who have never yet been found wanting from the remotest colonial period to the present time.

The soldiers of Maryland and of the other States participating in the engagement at Bladensburg have been the subjects of severe criticism, during their lives and now; and it is my ambition to remove the obloquy which has rested upon their good name, that prompts me to lay bare every bit of testimony of any importance bearing upon the case, and if I fail to give a thorough and comprehensive history, it will be for want of space and time, for I have been compelled to eliminate a great deal of testimony.

Of course nothing is more easy than to criticise the order of battle of a defeated army: in fact the defeat itself shows defects; but the blunders of the battle of Bladensburg are so appalling, that it certainly does rob the victors of any credit which might have come to them.

The field over which I have had to wander was very large, covering the months preceding the battle, acts of Congress, of the President and Cabinet, the public and private acts of the citizens of Washington, Georgetown and Alexandria, Va., as well as the expressions of the military men attracted to the Capital by the menacing attitude of the army and navy of the enemy in the Chesapeake.

Much of my testimony has been gathered from letters and reports of those who participated in the defenses of Washington and the battle of Bladensburg, so that if any errors have crept into this paper or any contradictions become apparent, the responsibility will not rest with me, for it is my only desire to give history as I find it, supported by those who were instrumental in its making.

Soon, however, in the day of my labor did I realize that many serious obstacles lay in my path ; first for the valueless investigation of Congress shortly after the battle, called forth by the righteous indignation of the people of Alexandria, Va., who had been forced to surrender to Admiral Cockburn upon the most exacting, indeed impossible terms.

The people of Maryland demanded to know why her soldiers had not been allowed to do their whole duty to their country. The people of Washington were also indignant that their own militia, of which they were proud, had been ordered to retreat without an effort to defend their homes, and finally a storm of indignation from every quarter of our country. Every one wanted to know who was responsible for the disasters of the day.

The utter failure of the Congressional Committee to call for certain papers and witnesses, as well as the suppression of some testimony, in order to shield the administration, whom we will show as the most culpable, and finally to throw the blame of the disaster upon the shoulders of General Wm. H. Winder, the commander, a relative of Levin Winder, the Governor of Maryland, who had been selected by the President to command the 10th military district, it is said upon political grounds.

There was no personal objection to the selection of General Winder, although he was entirely unknown to the people of Washington, except his want of military experience; his patriotism and courage were generally acknowledged.

He entered upon his duties under the greatest difficulty. He had no means at his command and no way of creating them ; the military district, over which he now presided, had no magazines, provisions or forage, and was without transport tools, without a commissary or quartermaster's department, and himself without a single officer on his staff, and finally without any troops.

The proclamation by the President on July 4th was a mere matter of form and without any effect, for the States had only a small number of troops with poor equipments, as Congress had offered them no encouragement, and now, at the last moment, had none to offer them; and to add to the general alarm, came the daily reports of the depredations of the enemy on the shores of Virginia and Maryland, and yet those in power could not be made to believe that they would extend to the Capital, flattering themselves that what had happened to every other nation in the world could not happen to theirs.

At Washington at this time there was not a single company of regulars, and no effort was made to get them within the threatened area.

General Winder's headquarters was a deserted place, without a secretary, and even the customary guard at his door was absent until the latter part of July. Here sat the commander of the 10th military district, now the most important in the country, powerless to direct or even assist in any movement and absolutely ignored by the President and Cabinet.

It was announced from time to time by the *National Intelligencer*, an administration paper published by a native of London, that the British were committing depredations on the shore of the Chesapeake, and had as many as 5000 men within 50 miles.

For fifteen months before the actual invasion of the capital the enemy had certainly given evidence of their intention to control the commerce of the Chesapeake Bay; Havre de Grace, Frenchtown, Georgetown and Frederickton on the Bay shore, and Hampton, Va., had been attacked and burned and its citizens carried off into captivity.

On July 15th, 1813, General Philip Steuart, a member of Congress from the eastern part of Maryland, a veteran of the Revolution, offered a resolution in Congress, directing the government to arm the citizen soldiers of Maryland and Washington as well as the States calling for arms, that the invaders might be received properly should they attempt to extend their operations to the larger cities; but that body struck out the enacting clause and actually adjourned without taking any steps to defend the city.

In the early part of April, 1814, the attention of the President was called to the defenseless condition of Washington and Alexandria, but no notice was taken of it.

On the 1st of May a delegation of business men of these two cities waited upon the President and pointed out several places around the city which should be immediately fortified, and suggested that the Governors of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia should be asked to have their troops in readiness to march to the defense of the Capital at the shortest possible notice, as the danger of an invasion was imminent. The President listened attentively and promised to bring the matter to the attention of the Cabinet at their next meeting, which was done the next day. Here it was discussed informally but no action was taken, the President stating that he thought they were over-excited; that in his opinion the enemy had no intention of attacking Washington; but that possibly Baltimore and Philadelphia might be compelled to defend themselves. The matter was then dropped and referred to no more until too late for action.

June came and still that strange and fatal apathy pervaded the official circles of the government, and there seemed no thought of action in this entire military district of which Washington was a part. Only 2,154 effective men of the regular army were in reach,—one-half at New York, one-fourth at Fort McHenry, Baltimore, and the other quarter divided between Annapolis, Fort Washington and St. Mary's, besides a company of marines at Fort Washington on the Potomac; 500 recruits for the army from North Carolina who were in a camp of instruction near Washington. These were actually sent to the northwestern frontier as late as July 25th and at a time when the public mind was filled with alarm because of the frequent reports of depredations committed upon the citizens of the Eastern Shore of Maryland by Sir Peter Parker, and yet the President and Cabinet saw nothing menacing in the attitude of the enemy, and so stated.*

On the 6th of June it became known to the authorities in Washington that the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia

* I wish to record the fact just here that many of these statements of derelictions on the part of the President and others are strongly denied by their friends.

had entered Paris on March 30th with 180,000 men. The President was informed soon after officially by our Minister at Paris that Louis XVIII was now on the throne of France; that Bonaparte was a prisoner, and that peace now reigned in France; that the actual embarkation of the British army had begun, including a number of Wellington's veteran regiments, and that it was no secret that their destination was the Chesapeake Bay.

On July 9th General Winder addressed a communication to the President, detailing certain plans which he thought necessary for the defense of the Capital, and asking that steps be taken at once to carry them out, as the enemy's fleet in the Chesapeake Bay was being greatly reinforced, and closing his letter with these words underscored: "The enemy is now within three hours' march of Baltimore, less than that of Annapolis, one and one-half days of Washington." To this very important letter no answer was returned and the suggestions were not carried out in any detail.

On July 29th the people of Washington rose in their indignation and the militia rebelled against their commander. General Winder openly criticised the President for his criminal inactivity at such a time, when the enemy was almost at their door. The soldiers refused to serve under Winder, believing him the cause of the delay, and finally demanded the resignation of General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, as well as that of General Winder. This was followed, says Armstrong, by the President requesting him to retire from the active duties of the War Department for a time to satisfy the excited public. In reply he told the Executive that he did not see how he could be held responsible for the excited state of affairs, as he had not been consulted at any time, and that, had he been, he would certainly have opposed the appointment of General Winder, who had never had the confidence of the public or soldiers.

General Armstrong's retirement at this time was fortunate for his own reputation, for the defenseless condition of the capital was now acknowledged by all. No one could now be found, even among the personal and political friends of the President, to defend the administration.

This condition of affairs at the seat of government was well

known to the enemy, for their officers disguised easily made their way into the city, mingled with the people, frequented the hotels and taverns, and passed in and out of the city at pleasure, being also aided by treacherous Americans in the pay of Admiral Cockburn.

It was decided about the middle of July at a cabinet meeting that the Governors of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia should be called upon to assemble all their available forces, so that at short notice they could march to the seat of war, and the number was placed at 13,000, quite a formidable number on paper, but of this number only a few hundred could be gotten together. Strange to say, this order was not issued for ten days. The alarming news received on the 19th of August caused the authorities to do more active work, yet only a limited number of men were available, for want of arms.

About this time a messenger reached Washington with the information that a large body of soldiers and a number of warships had arrived to reinforce the British already in the Chesapeake Bay. This left no shadow of doubt in the minds of even the cabinet that an enterprise of great magnitude was intended.

On the morning of August 16th, twenty-two of the enemy's ships reached the Chesapeake Bay and proceeded up to join the force stationed at the mouth of the Patuxent River. The whole body then ascended that river, and on the 19th began landing troops at the ancient village of Benedict, about 40 miles south of Washington. Great consternation followed the receipt of this news at the Capital, and that it was in great danger no one doubted for a moment.

On August 22nd the State troops from Virginia and Pennsylvania began to arrive. The next day came the Maryland brigade, except the 5th Infantry under Lieut.-Col. Joseph Sterett and Pinkney's riflemen, which did not get in until sunset of the 23rd. By noon of the 24th between 6 and 7000 militia, including about 400 regulars, were in and around Bladensburg.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 24th it was known to General Winder that the enemy was rapidly moving towards Bladensburg, and he proceeded to arrange his troops to meet their advance.

General Tobias E. Stansbury, the commander of the Maryland brigade and a veteran of the Revolution, being called upon, gladly assisted General Winder in placing his troops in position, and this was not an easy undertaking, for there was considerable confusion, many of the companies being of the rawest kind of militia, their officers excited and their men not under perfect control.

The plan of battle decided on was not the work of much time and was far from perfect, but was not without merit. It provided for three lines of defense.

The first line consisted of the Baltimore brigade under General Stansbury. Pinkney's riflemen (150 men), the 5th Maryland Infantry (500 men), which had arrived only a few hours before, had only a short rest, and had been without food for twenty hours; the Maryland Infantry under Col. Ragan (550), the Maryland Infantry under Col. Schutz (800), and last, but not the least, the two Baltimore batteries of Artillery (150), the American under Capt. Robert B. Magruder and the Franklin under Capt. Joseph Myers, in all about 2200 men. On the Georgetown road, a company of Riflemen, one of Infantry, one of Artillery and one of Cavalry.

The second line of defense consisted of two commands of Washington militia under Colonels Magruder and Wm. Brent, two companies of light artillery composed of the gentlemen of Washington, forming a brigade under General Walter Smith of that city; also two companies of Georgetown troops and a company of volunteers from Alexandria, Va., with Kramer's Infantry and Col. Beall's Infantry from Anne Arundel County.

In the rear of this line was the third line, consisting of the Pennsylvania and Virginia troops, under General Douglass of Virginia, and in front of this line were the works of Barney, who in the closing hours of that memorable day was to cover himself with glory. Stull's Infantry, Waring's Infantry, Scott's U. S. Regulars, Smith's brigade and Peter's Artillery, formed part of this line.

The plan of battle was arranged by Winder and Stansbury to prevent the enemy from crossing the bridge which led into Bladensburg, which, however, should have been destroyed early in

the day. It was left to the Baltimore brigade to check the advance of the enemy, the Baltimore Artillery and Pinkney's Riflemen to hold the bridge, supported in the rear left by the 5th Md. Infantry, and on the rear right by the infantry under Ragan and Schutz. In the event of the falling back of this line, the second line was to flank the enemy, assisted by the artillery, who were to give them a flank attack, enabling the first to reform and charge the enemy with the bayonet. Assuming that they would not fall back, the third line was to move forward, supporting Barney's batteries and fire canister while they were in range, which would be a signal to the other batteries occupying raised ground to pour their shot into the ranks of the retreating foe, the cavalry to charge should the enemy re-form or be reinforced.

This was the plan of battle, and as we examine it upon the map, it certainly impresses us as being an excellent one, which, if carried out, should have resulted in victory for General Winder; but unfortunately it was not carried out in any detail. Indeed so badly was it interpreted that history records the defeat of about 7000 Americans by about 1500 British. Though this is not true, it has been repeated by writers from time to time, and to correct this and to give a fair and truthful account of the battle I have undertaken this history.

Many distinguished historians have fallen into this same error. Even Mr. Roosevelt in his History of the Navy in the War of 1812 briefly continues this statement, and speaks of the battle of North Point in language incomprehensible to me, for the story told by the participants should confirm or correct these errors.

When all the different commands had been placed in position, it gave to the brigade of Stansbury the post of honor, and placed upon their shoulders a great responsibility; for upon the valor of these troops depended the fate of the day. Unfortunately for all most interested, they were not permitted to show their courage or ability.

When the trumpet announced the near approach of the enemy, the President, James Madison, James Monroe, Secretary of State, Gen. James Armstrong, Secretary of War, and the Attorney-General, accompanied by a number of friends, all on horseback,

rode upon the hill overlooking the field, near the Georgetown road. Mr. Monroe rode some distance forward and seemed to examine the positions of the various commands critically, after which, returning to the side of the President, he conversed with him in a low voice and rode rapidly away. A most unfortunate thing this proved to be, for it resulted in the removal of the 5th Md. Infantry as the support of the Baltimore artillery, and the Maryland regiments of Ragan and Schutz from the right as the support of the Pinkney's riflemen and the falling back of the cavalry and artillery on the Georgetown pike, thus leaving the right and left of the firing line entirely exposed, disconcerting the plans of Winder and Stansbury.

This order was given and executed without the knowledge of or consent of these two generals during a conference which took place only a short distance away. This order coming from some one high in authority, General Winder dared not countermand it, as he could have done in time to save or preserve his plan of defense.

General Stansbury was so angry when he saw upon his return to his former position what had been done, that he threatened to leave the field, and said in a loud and angry voice, "That the order was an outrage, and could only result in disaster."

We will now detail in a brief way the history of the battle of Bladensburg gathered from the reports of those who participated in the fight, which I believe to be technically correct.

At twelve o'clock the detachment which had been sent forward to locate and annoy the approaching enemy, returned and went to the rear. In a few moments the enemy's advance guard was seen in the road and began firing rockets which reached the unprotected regiments of Sterett, Ragan and Schutz, who were now more than a quarter of a mile in the rear of the riflemen and artillery. The moving of these regiments forced out of position another battalion, disconcerting the whole line of defense and support, in full view of the enemy, in range of their rockets, and without any service to the batteries or themselves.

The enemy seeing the weakness of the firing line and the unprotected position of the riflemen and artillery, sent increased

numbers of rockets at the 5th Regiment. The British had now reached the apple orchard and had the protection the 5th Md. Regiment would have had had they been allowed to remain.

By this time the whole plan of battle had been so disarranged that the chance was gone to correct the grave errors which had been committed by some one other than General Winder. The enemy was now seen *en masse* coming down the hill just beyond Bladensburg and rapidly pressing forward to the bridge which they could never have crossed had the original plan of battle been adhered to.

The attacking line of the British was about 1500 to 2000 strong with some heavy field pieces, General Robert Ross commanding, with Admiral Cockburn in charge of sailors and marines. The enemy was not long in crossing the bridge, although the first attempt was not successful owing to the splendid service of the two Baltimore batteries and Pinkney's riflemen; but soon this small body, certainly not more than 350 men, was confronted by the whole attacking line composed of veterans of many battles. Yet the enemy were driven back by the raking fire of Pinkney's riflemen and were compelled to take shelter behind an old house which had previously given shelter to a portion of the 5th Regiment and which had been left to the enemy by the removal of the 5th Maryland.

The British advanced again under a heavy fire of the Marylanders so fierce that it swept away whole files of the advancing enemy.*

The enemy was now reinforced and fell heavily upon our artillery and riflemen who alone commanded the pass from the bridge, who finding no support coming to their aid fell back to a position commanding the road. General Stansbury in complimenting these soldiers afterwards said, "You did your work nobly, for you had

* Major Geo. Peter assisted Col. Thornton of the British advance in the hospital after the battle, who was badly wounded and left in Washington in our care, who remarked to Major Peter, "that just before they crossed the bridge the fire of the American artillery was the heaviest he had ever experienced." The *National Intelligencer* stated in their first issue after the battle, that over two hundred of the enemy's dead were found at this spot and buried by the citizens of Washington.

to contend with the whole British force, and it is astonishing that you were able to maintain your position so long and to be able to withdraw so successfully."

The enemy in formidable numbers now began pressing the second line, when a company of District militia becoming panic-stricken, broke and ran, throwing their arms upon the ground. This cowardly behaviour was the beginning of the end of that disastrous day. The whole force of the British was now hurled against the 5th Md. Regiment and the batteries of Magruder and Myers, but the gallant men of these commands not only checked their advance, but the 5th Regiment pressed their lines so strongly at the point of the bayonet that the British were compelled to fall back to the margin of the stream, where they stubbornly maintained their position until again reinforced by a part of the Grenadier or 2nd brigade. Thus strengthened they pressed forward and soon turned the left flank of our army, sending a flight of rockets into Stansbury's brigade, then the regiments of Ragan and Schutz broke and fled in great disorder. Colonels Ragan and Schutz did all they could do to rally their men, and even General Stansbury in a loud voice commanded these colonels to cut down the fugitives. General Winder rode hurriedly in front of them and begged them to halt, but without avail. General Stansbury, although seeing the case hopeless, ordered the 5th Regiment to stand firm, which they did, until both flanks were turned, when General Winder ordered them to fall back to a slightly elevated position near the Washington road, and dashed away. The whole body of the enemy was now again pushing for the 5th, when an orderly notified Stansbury to hold the enemy in check while he attempted to rally the frightened militia who were retreating towards Washington and Georgetown. Stansbury held a council of his officers and submitted the order to them, and by their unanimous advice began retreating. As his troops filed down the road, he again received orders to make a stand at this place, but refused to obey, saying that nothing but complete annihilation of his command could result from making a stand at this place, as he was outnumbered five to one.

As he was crossing a narrow stream an orderly came to him

greatly excited and demanded to know why he disobeyed the commander's order. His reply was, "Tell your commander that I am responsible for the disobedience and will answer for it when required."

General Armstrong some months after the battle said that he did not believe that the order came from General Winder, for no military man would give such an order, or expect Stansbury to hold in check so large a body of men unless he was sure of reinforcements; that the order came from some one higher in authority than Winder, for there was now no line of defenses to be depended on but the seamen and marines under Barney, and they were behind earth-works and could not move.

It is my opinion that General Winder did give that order, for those above him by this time were near the city of Washington, and the manner of Winder at this time was that of a man who had lost his head. In proof of this I will state that after the retreat of the second line, composed of three companies or battalions, the remaining troops closed up their ranks and prepared to receive the enemy, when General Winder rode up to an officer, who happened to be the Hon. Wm. D. Merrick of Maryland and the adjutant of the command, and in an excited manner ordered them to fall back. Mr. Merrick pointed to Col. Scott, the commander, who was on foot, his horse having been killed only a short time ago. Col. Scott heard the order, and recognizing Gen. Winder, said angrily, "Does Gen. Winder order me to fall back when my men are in good order and anxious to fight?" But fall back they did, and after this he ordered the 5th Md. Regiment to hold the British, a thing utterly impossible at the time, as the full force of the enemy, 4 or 5000 men, were now employed and marching upon Barney and the marines.

The American army had early in the day been hopelessly divided, and at the near approach of the attacking party, the President and Cabinet who were still mounted and standing on an eminence about a mile from the most advanced position, became alarmed at the condition of affairs created by Col. Monroe, and perhaps at the suggestion of some one of his party now made an effort to concentrate the forces as had been the plan of Gen.

Stansbury from the very first, but it was now too late, for it meant the total destruction of any command to attempt to cross that space now covered by the guns of the enemy on Lowndes' Hill. Remember, that the British had crossed the bridge and were in possession of a vacant house which had previously sheltered a company of riflemen, and emerging from behind this house they presented an unbroken front. It can be seen that if the Baltimore brigade had not been moved from this position, it being the most defensible Stansbury could have found, as he was protected by an apple orchard and with another brigade near at hand, it would have without doubt altered the fortunes of that day.

At two o'clock nothing stood between the enemy and Washington but the batteries of Barney, and upon that armed position they poured a hail of shot, and concentrating their forces made a vicious attack upon the centre; but like the hero that he was Barney maintained his position for some time. His left was soon carried by the British marines, but the seamen of Barney drove them back, and when they rallied it was seen that they had suffered a severe loss, but the next attack was made by the combined forces and ended the day's battle, for Barney at this moment was severely wounded and fell, and before he could rise, was a prisoner. His life was saved by the timely arrival of a humane officer, for a British bayonet was almost at his throat.

The history of the enemy's work in our defenseless capital is known to every one, the destruction by fire of the public and private property, the destruction of some and the mutilation of other works of art, the hasty retreat of that enemy in a tremendous rain and thunder storm, leaving 300 to 400 unburied where they fell, and their wounded to be cared for by our own surgeons and citizens, the most dangerously wounded being taken into the houses at Bladensburg.

The *National Intelligencer* is authority for the statement that the enemy lost about 500 killed and wounded, and 500 missing, of which number only a few made any effort to rejoin their companions.

The loss of the Americans was 76 killed and wounded and about 3000 missing, who all, it is said, found their way home.

LOG OF THE CHASSEUR.

JOURNAL
OF PRIVATE ARMED BRIG CHASSUER, THOS. BOYLE, COM.
FROM NEW YORK ON A CRUISE.

I.

Friday December 23rd 1814

At 10 A M got under way from the North River and stood down to Staten Island and Anchored at the Quarantine Ground. Sent the Boat ashore for Water. Received two Boat loads of Water. Sent down the Fore Royal yard. At 2 P. M. Captain came on board; got under way, and stood down. At 4 P. M. sent the Boat ashore to Port Richmond. Got permission to pass. At 6 P. M. passed Sandy Hook. End the Civil Day.

Saturday 24th Decr

At 7 P M the light bore W by N. distance 3 leagues. At 8 the Highlands of Neversink bore W by N. dist. 7 leagues, from which we take our departure. All necessary sail set. Set the Watch and clear'd up the decks.

Midnight stiff breezes and pleasant, tho' cold. At 4 P. M. took in the Studding Sails. at 5 A M in the Fore Top Gallant Sail at 6 A M set the Fore Sail. at 9 A M unbent the Cables and stowed the people employed at Sundry Jobs of Ship's duty. At fresh breeze. Handed fore top Gallant Sail

Lat. by Ob. 38° 54 N

Sunday 25th Decr

At 5 P M double reefed the Main Sail. Fresh breezes. Midnight cloudy. Jibbed over the Main boom. Wind from the

Eastward. At 6 set the Fore Top Gallant Sail. Meridian set the Jibbs and let the reefs out of the Main Sail.

Lat. by Obn. 36° 24 N.

Monday 26th Decr.

Commences with light Breezes and Cloudy. Heavy swell from the NW. At 5^{30} A M reefed the Main Sail and took in the Jibb; at 7 double reefed the Fore Top Sail and single reefed the Main one. At 10 A M close reefed the Fore top sail and the Square Fore Sail. Balance reefed the Main Sail, and took two reefs in the Fore and Aft Fore Sail. At the same time sent down the Fore top Galt yard. Fresh Gales and squally.

Lat. by indt. Obn. 35° 18 N.

27th Decr.

At Meridian wore Ship and stood to the Southward. Very squally disagreeable looking weather. At 4 P. M. sent down the Main yard and the Fore Top Gallant Mast and got in the Flying Jibb boom. At 5 P M heavy Sea carried away the Main Boom. Lowered down the Main Sail and got the Boom on board to Fish it. Carpenter and Crew employed in getting all ready to Fish boom. At Midnight squally from the Northward and Westward. At 2 A M heavy and severe Gales, the Decks full of Water Carried away the Sprit Sail yard and Fore Gaft, the Brig labouring very heavy and Shipping much Water. Lost John McConkey overboard by the Wash of a Sea and never saw him more. At daylight set up the Fore rigging and commenced putting the Ship in order. At 8 A M set the Fore Top sail close reefed. Carpenter employed in securing the Wedges of the Main Mast that had worked loose, and fishing the Main Boom. Much damage done to our hull and Rigging. Employed in refitting. Decks constantly filled with Water. Ends heavy Gales and Squally.

Lat. by Obn. 33° 23 N.

Wednesday 28th Decr.

Commences fresh Gales and squally. Carpenter and Crew

employed in fishing the Main Boom. At 5 P. M. handed the Fore top sail and set the Fore and aft Foresail double reefed, at the same time hove her to, head to the S. W.

Midnight more moderate but frequent squalls with fine rain. At 7 A M bore away and made sail. Carpenter as before employed in fishing the Main Boom. At 10 A M set the square foresail and Jibb. Let out the reefs of the Fore and Aft Foresail and loosed the Main Sail to dry. At Meridian swayed up the Fore top Gallant Mast and let out one reef of the Fore Top sail.

Lat. by Obn. 31° 59 North

Thursday 29th December

Commences with Steady Breezes and more pleasant Weather. Carpenter still employed in Fishing the Main Boom. All Sail set necessary. Midnight pleasant Weather. At 8 A M got the Main boom shipped and sent up the Fore top Gallant yard. Fished the Sprit sail yard and otherwise employed in Sundry Jobs of Ship's Duty

Meridian pleasant

Lat. by Obn. 30° 00 N

Friday 30th December

Commences with moderate Winds and frequent squalls of fine Rain. Exercised the Great Guns and small Arms. The Crew otherwise employed in Sundry Jobbs of Ship's Duty. All the necessary Sail Set Midnight as before.

Latter part employed in various Jobbs of Ship's Duty. The Gunner, Carpenter and Crew variously employed

Lat. by Obn. 28. 52 N.

Saturday 31st December

Begins with Cloudy obscured Weather and frequent squalls of fine Rain. Exercised great Guns and small Arms. At 6 P M handed the Fore top Gallant Sail. At Midnight fine rain. Took two reefs in the Main Sail. Latter part pleasant. Boatswain, Carpenters and Gunners employed at Sundry Jobs of Ship's

Duty. Sent up the fore Royal Mast and yard and Set all Sail necessary. Ends pleasant and Clear

Latt. Ob. 27. 09 North

Sunday 1st January 1815

Commences with fine Breezes and pleasant Weather. All Necessary Sail set. At 4 P. M. exercised the Great Guns and Small arms with powder. Midnight pleasant. Wind inclines to the Northward. At 8 A M set Steering Sails below and aloft, and lowered the Main sail down. Ends pleasant

Lat Ob. 24. 44 North

Monday 2d January

Commences with fine Breezes and Clear pleasant Weather. At 4 P M. exercised Great Guns and Small Arms. All necessary sail set. At 6 P M on Steering Sails below and Aloft

Midnight fresh Breezes and pleasant. Took in the Main Top Gallant sail and Fore Royal. At 8 A M took in Fore top Gallant Sail. At 10 A M lowered the sails down to set up the fore rigging. Employed at Ditto. Meridian rather squally. Made sail

Lat ob. 21. 26 North

Tuesday 3d January

Commences with fresh Breezes and flying Clouds. At 2 P M. handed the Fore Top Gallant Sail At 4 single reefed Fore and Main Top Sail. At 6 took in the Gibb. Frequent little squalls of Rain

Midnight frequent little squalls of Rain. Lowered down the Main Sail frequently in the rain. At 7 A M set the Jibb. At 8 set the Fore top Gallant sail. Ship's Crew employed in Various Jobs of Ship duty. Discovered the Fore and Main Masts a little Sprung; presume nothing of consequence

Lat by ob. 17. 44 North

Wednesday 4th December

Commences with fresh Breezes and pleasant Weather. Employed at Sundry Jobs of Ship's duty and fishing in part the

Main Mast. At 6 P M took in the Fore top Gallant Sail and Jibbs. Frequent little squalls of fine Rain. Midnight pleasant. Latter part employed in rewoolding the fishes on the Main boom and other necessary Jobs

Lat Ob. 14. 14 North

Thursday 5th. January

At 3½ P. M. made the East end of Barbadoes bearing SSW, distant 8 leagues. At 6 P. M. north part bore WSW Distant 8 leagues. East end S.W distant 9 leagues. At 8 P M hauled up the square Fore Sail and Jibbs and backed the Main Top Sail. At 7 A M kept away west. At 8 Made the land bearing NW. At 9 Made all Sail. SE part of the Island of Barbadoes bearing NW three leagues distant. Employed at Sundry Jobbs of Ship's duty. Meridian. within 2 leagues of the land

Lat Obr. 13. 03 North

Friday 6th. January 1815

Commences with fine Breezes and pleasant Weather. At 6 P M the South end of Barbadoes bore NW by W and the east end NN.W 4 leagues distant. At Midnight tacked Ship to the Northd. At 4 A M tacked Ship to the Southd. At 5 A M tacked again. At 7 A. M. Barbadoes bore NW distant 7 leagues. At 9 discovered a Sail bearing North. Made all Sail in chase. At 10 discovered her to be a Ship running before the Wind. At 11 She haul'd her Wind for us. We then plainly perceiving her to be a large Ship of War, tacked Ship and made every preparation for Action. At 11½ tacked Ship and passing her to Windward hoisted the Yankee Flag and gave her one of our long 12s. which she returned with several Guns without doing us any injury.

Meridian tacked again and passing her fired several Shot at her, which she returned. Some of her Shot far overreached us.

Lat. Ob 13- 03 North

Saturday 7th. January 1815

At 1 P M the Ship of War bore up. After having fired many Shot at her, we bore up also. A Man of War Brig in sight to

Leeward. At 2 P. M. could see the Shipping in the harbour of Bridgetown and the Admiral's Ship with several other Men of War. The Admiral's Ship making signals to the one we had engaged and the Brig also. They both hauled upon a wind in chase of us, and a frigate came out of Bridgetown also in Chase. Stood close in Shore and took the Schooner *Elizabeth* of Bridgetown. Brought her alongside and took her in tow. Took out Several Articles and burnt her. The Three Men of War close by. Made all necessary sail on a Wind

Midnight tacked Ship. At 5 A M tacked Ship. Discovered a Frigate or 74 close to us standing on the other tack. At 6. she hove about and gave us Chase. Beat her with ease. At 8 A M. gave over Chase. At 9 discovered Three Sails off the Weather bow. Directly after all three gave us Chase.

At Meridian we appeared to leave the Vessells fast whom we supposed to be the same that chased us yesterday, two Ships and a Brig, every possiable sail set in chase of us. Employed in Sundry Jobs of Ship's duty

Lat^{d}. Ob 12.. 16 North

Sunday 8th. Jan^{ry} 1815

Commences with stiff Breezes and pleasant Weather. At 2 P M observed the three Men of War in Chase of us making signals to each other, but we were leaving them fast. At 3 P M lost sight of one of them astern. At 7 P M bore up WSW and lost sight of them all.

Midnight fine Breezes. At daylight made Small Schooner to the windward. Made every necessary sail in Chase and they did the same to escape us.

Meridian Wind very light. A Cross swell and we do not near the Chase any in consequence of the lightness of the Wind.

Lat^{d} Ob. 11. 53 North.

Monday 9th January

Commences with light Airs next to calms. Out sweeps at 2 P M and continued them out till 6 without gaining on the Chase. At 8 tacked Ship. At 10 tacked Ship.

Midnight squally. At 1 A M tacked Ship. At 2 heavy squalls. Took in sail. At 4 discovered the Main Mast badly sprung in the old place, much more than we expected. At Daylight commenced setting up the Main Rigging and getting the Mast ready for fishing.

Latter part employed in fishing the Mast to the best advantage, not having the means to do it effectually. End fresh Breezes and heavy Sea.

Lat. ob 12. 27 North

Tuesday 10th January 1815

Commences with fresh Gales and heavy Seas. At 2 P M fished Main Mast, tho' not as one could wish. At 4 P M set the three-reefed Main sail. At 11 P M tacked Ship.

Midnight squally. At 3 A M tacked Ship. At 6 made the Island of St Vincents bearing NNW distant 3 leagues. At 9 A M saw a Sloop and Schooner standing to Windward from the West end of the Island. Endeavoured to cut them off, but they took Shelter under a small Fort. At 11 A M sent the Boat and took possession of the Sloop *Eclipse* of St Vincents from Grenada to St. Vincents, having on board a few Boxes of Candles and two Cases Irish Linnens. Took out the Linnens and Candles with the Prisoners and sunk her. Meridian clear and pleasant. Bore up in chase of a sail to Leeward, the principal harbour of St. Vincents bearing North 2 Leagues.

Wednesday 11th January 1815

At 2 P M sent the Boat to cut off a Small Schooner to Leeward under English Colours, but a breeze springing up she escaped into the harbour of Bequia. Run to Leeward and made sail amongst the Grenadene Keys. Gave chase. At 4 P M sent the Boat Armed. The Crew having deserted her, the Boat took possession of her and brought her off from the Shore. She proved to be the Sloop *Mary of Bequia* in ballast. Sunk her and made sail to Northward

Midnight pleasant. Tacking Ship occasionally in and off

Shore. At 7 A M discovered a Sail in the Northern quarter. Made all sail in chase. At 11 A M boarded the Sweedish Sloop *Wasp* of St. Barth^{ws} bound to Grenada. Examined her and let her pass. At Meridian East end of St Vincents bore ESE. distant 4 leagues.

Lat ob^{n} 13. 29 North

Thursday 12th January 1815

At 6 P M the North part of St Vincents bore SE by E distant 11 leagues and NW part of St. Lucia bore E by N. 10 or 11 leagues distant. Standing to the North and West^{d} At 7 P M tacked and stood to Easterly.

At 7 A M the east end of Martinique bore NE by E distant 10 leagues

At Meridian the harbour of Port Royal bore E by N distant 12 or 13 leagues. At the same time saw the NW part of the Island.

Lat^{d} Ob. 14. 19 North.

Friday 13th January 1815

At 6 P M Point Macuba bore NNE dist. 7 or 8 leagues and South East, end St Lucia bore SE by S distant 10 or 11 leagues.

Midnight good Breezes and pleasant. Made several tacks in and off shore. At 6 A M close in with the harbour of St Pierre. At 7 A M sent the Boat on Shore to procure materials for fishing the Main Mast and Main Boom. At 8 A M the Pilots Boat came on board and returned on Shore again. Ends pleasant, laying off and on in the mouth of the Harbour.

Saturday 14th January 1815

At 2 P M came to Anchor in the harbour of St Pierre with the best Bower in 30 fathoms Water and furled the sails and got all ready to fish the Main Mast and Boom. Cleared the Decks up, and 8 P M set the watch.

Midnight squally. At daylight commenced fishing the Mast and sundry other Jobs of Ship's Duty. Cut the first reef off the

Main Sail and set the Sail Maker to work on it, got some Water from Shore.

Meridian Clear & pleasant.

Sunday 15th January 1815

Commences with fine pleasant Weather. Carpenter and all his Crew employed in fishing the Main Mast. Boatswain Gunner and Crew at sundry Jobs. Bent a new Square Fore sail.

Midnight pleasant.

Latter part employed as before. Received on board 14 Casks Water 2 puncheons of Rum for Ship's use. New main boom making on Shore. Ends Clear and pleasant. Making the utmost speed with our Work, several English Vessells laying off and on in the harbour.

Monday 16 Janry 1815

Commences with pleasant Weather and a fine Breeze. At 4 P M finished fishing the Main Mast and woolding it. At the same time received the New Main boom on board. All hands employed in getting ready for Sea. John Ward Landsman Run away. At 6 A M. got underway and drifted out. Sent the Boat on Shore. At 9 A M returned, took her in and made Sail to the Southward. At 11 A M passed within half a Mile of an English Ship, but could not take possession of her we being within Neutral limits. At Meridian abreast of Fort Royal Bay.

17 January 1815

At ½ past Meridian passed across Fort Royal Bay. at 2 P. M passed Diamond Point and Rock and saw Point Saline and the Island of St. Lucia. At ½ past 2 P M saw a sail near the Island of St. Lucia upon a wind standing to the Northward. Made all necessary sail in chase. At 3 discovered her to be a Ship apparently English. She tacked Ship off our Weather bow and immediately after fired a Gun and bore up for the Land. Could plainly perceive her hoist Signals and see them answered on Shore. We tried to cut her off from taking shelter, but could not effect it. At 4 P. M she being close to the Land took Shelter

under a strong Battery a little to Windward of the harbour of St. Lucia. The Battery being upon a Hill opened a Fire upon us without doing us any injury. At ½ past 4 P. M. observed Signals answered by a Man of War Brig that was laying in the harbour of Castro. She got immediately under way and gave chase to us. The Ship we supposed was a packet. At 8 P. M close in with the Diamond Rock. Tacked Ship and lost sight of the Man of War Brig. Midnight, abreast of the East end of St. Lucia. At 10 A M discovered a small sail to windward. Gave chase.

Meridian saw the Islands of Barbadoes and St Vincents, one bearing E. by S. the other W by N. Were about midway between them.

Wednesday 18th. January 1815

Commences with light winds. Making short tacks to Windward in chase of the small sail, a Schooner which we gained upon very fast. At 6 P M the east part of Barbadoes S by E ½ E, at ½ past 7 coming Dark and Cloudy, lost sight of the chase.

Meridian Barbadoes bore WSW distant 8 or 9 Leagues lying to Windward under short sail.

Thursday 19 Janry. 1815

Commences with moderate Weather. Tacking alternately to N and S. E. under short sail, the land in sight. At 4 P. M exercised the Great Guns and small Arms

Midnight as before

Latter part employed in fitting futtock Shrouds and sundry other necessary Jobs of Ship's duty. Ends clear and pleasant.

Friday 20th. Janry. 1815

Commences with light Winds and fair weather. The Southern part of Barbadoes, bore W ½ N. distant 8 or 9 leagues. Tacking alternately through the night to the Northward and S. E. Midnight, winds flurry with flying clouds. At 6 A. M. Barbadoes W by N. Latter part employed fitting Slings and Trusses for the fore yard and Sundry other Jobs of Ship's duty.

Saturday 21st January 1815

Commences pleasant &c. At 6 P. M. the center of the Island bore West distant 5 leagues. Midnight heavy squalls with Rain. At 6 A. M the Land in sight from the Mast head bearing W by N. Ends Moderate Breezes and pleasant weather. Employed in Sundry Jobs of Ship's duty

Latd. Obr. 13- 01 North.

Sunday 22d January 1815

Commences with Moderate Winds and pleasant Weather. At 6 P. M. the Island of Barbadoes bore W ½ N distant 8 leagues. At 11 tacked Ship, head to S. E.

Midnight pleasant. At 4 A M tacked Ship again head to Northward. At 11 A M made a large sail ahead. At ½ past 11 tacked Ship to the Northward and made Sail. Upon tacking Ship the Vessel we had discovered bore up for us and made sail in chase of us.

Meridian She was discovered to be a large Ship under a crowd of Sail after us.

Latd ob. 13. 13 North.

23d January 1815

Commences with fresh Trade. Ship in chase on our Weathers Quarter. At 6 P. M. the Ship bore S ½ East immediately in our wake. Dropping her fast. At 8 P. M tacked head S. E. At 9 lost sight of the Ship.

Midnight, flurry with fresh Breezes with considerable Swell, carrying a press of Sail. At 2 A. M took in Fore top Gallant Sail and reefed Main and Main Topsail. Day light, nothing in sight

Meridian light Winds and fair Weather. Bent a New fore top Sail. Employed at Sundry Jobs of Ship's Duty. Gunner and Crew employed in making of Wads, &c

Lat. ob. 12. 56 North

Tuesday 24th Janry 1815

Commences with Light Winds and squally with Rain. Under Short sail. At 8 P. M wore Ship head to S. E.

Midnight fresh Breezes

Day light nothing in sight. At 8 A M wore Ship. Latter part employed in various Jobs of Ship's duty. Ends Clear and pleasant

Lat. Obd. 12″03 North

Wednesday 25th January 1815

Commences with light Winds and pleasant. At 4 P M tackd Ship, head Southerly. At 8 P. M bore up and ran down under easy sail. Midnight moderate Breezes and pleasant. At 5½ A. M haul'd upon a Wind. Very squally with Rain.

At 11½ A. M tacked Ship head to the Northd. Employed in Sundry Jobs of Ship's duty. Ends pleasant

Lat. ob 12- 34 North

Thursday 26th January 1815

Commences good Breezes and. pleasant Weather. At 6 P. M Barbadoes bore W by N. distant about 10 leagues.

Midnight. wore Ship head SE. Daylight nothing in sight. At 8 A M wore Ship and bore up West. At 9½ made a Sail upon our lee bow. Jibb'd Ship and gave chase. Same time made Barbadoes bearing West. At 11 A M ascertained the chase to be a (Brig) Man of War. Hauld our wind to the NW

Lat. ob. 13- 01 North

Friday 27th January 1815

Commences Moderate Breezes and pleasant. At 4½ P M carried away the Main Boom in Jibbing Ship. Set the Carpenter and Crew to work to fish it. At 6 P. M N W part of Barbadoes S. E by S. distant 5 leagues.

Midnight finished fishing the Main Boom and got it out to its place

Meridian Moderate Trade Winds. Clear and pleasant. North part of Barbadoes bore E by S, 5 or 6 leagues distant

Lat. Obn. 13. 24

Saturday 28th. Janry. 1815

Commences with fine Weather and Moderate Breezes. At 5 P. M the South West part of Barbadoes, bore NE by E distant about 11 leagues. At 6 P. M tacked Ship to the Northward

Meridian Squally with fine Rain

Latter part fresh Breezes and Cloudy. Under short sail. Ends squally with Rain

No Observation

Sunday 29th. January 1815

Commences light Winds and Squally with a heavy swell from the NE. At 5.30 P. M made a sail nearly ahead. At 6 tacked Ship to the Northd. At 8 lost sight of the sail. At 3 A M made a sail on our weather Beam. When we tacked Ship in a Short time after we discerned she was in chase of us. We standing to the Northward with all drawing sail. at daylight found her to be nearly within Gun Shot, a large Frigate which we suppose to be the *Barrossa*. From this time till 11 A. M. very squally with smart showers of rain. Carry a press of sail, but not gaining on frigate any, she rather gaining on us. At ½ past 11 A. M finding the frigate still gain on us, bore up and set every possiable sail. She commenced firing on us.

No obsn.

(*To be Continued.*)

TILGHMAN FAMILY.

A pedigree of this family, entered at the Visitation of Kent in 1619, is published in the Harleian Society's *Publications*, vol. 42, p. 37, and in Berry's *Kent Genealogies*, p. 70, but it contains serious errors, the heralds having apparently put their notes together with little care and confused some of the generations. Among the manuscript collections of the Pennsylvania Historical Society is a very carefully prepared pedigree, gathered from wills and other English records by two well-known Philadelphia genealogists, Messrs. Charles R. Hildeburn and Charles P. Keith, for the late William M. Tilghman of Philadelphia. This pedigree, for a copy of which the writer is indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Samuel Troth of Philadelphia, forms the basis of the earlier portion of the present genealogy. An important source of information is the manuscript journal of William Tilghman (b. 1518; d. 1594) of Holloway Court, which is still preserved by his descendants. Beginning in 1540, it contains, together with a number of accounts and miscellaneous entries, a record of the births of William Tilghman's children, and the book has served as a family register for many successive generations. In it the first possessor has entered his arms, neatly tricked, with the date "xix die Aprilis Anno dñi. 1540" and the subscription "Arma Willmi Tilman als. Tilghman." The crest is wanting, but arms and crest were recorded at the Visitation as follows:—

Arms.—Per fess sa. and arg., a lion rampant regardant, double queued, counterchanged, crowned or.
Crest.—A demi lion issuant, statant, sa., crowned or.

1. Richard Tilghman,[1] of Holloway Court, Snodland, Kent, living about 1450, and Dionysia his wife had issue:—

2. i. Thomas Tilghman[2] of Holloway Court.
ii. William Tilghman of London, mar. Margaret Saunders. In his will, dated 15 Sept. 1493 and proved in 1494, he leaves a bequest for masses for the souls of his deceased parents Richard and Dionysia.

2. Thomas Tilghman[2] (*Richard*[1]), of Holloway Court, and Joan his wife had issue:—

3. i. William Tilghman,[3] d. 27 Aug. 1541.
ii. Ralph Tilghman.
iii. John Tilghman.

3. WILLIAM TILGHMAN[3] (*Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]), of Holloway Court, died 27 August 1541. A brass in Snodland Church bears the following inscription: "Pray for the Soules of William Tilghman the elder, and Isabell and Joan his wives, which William decessyd the xxvii day of August, Anno Domini mccccxli, on whose Soules Jesu have mercy. As you are so was I, and as I am so shalt you be." The will of William Tilghman was proved 22 November 1541. His two wives were 1. Isabel Avery, and 2. Joan Amherst. By his first wife, Isabel Avery, he had a son :—

4. i. RICHARD TILGHMAN,[4] d. 1518.

4. RICHARD TILGHMAN[4] (*William,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]), of Snodland, died in 1518 in his father's life time. His will was proved 12 November 1518. By his wife Julyan, daughter of William Pordage, he had a son :—

5. i. WILLIAM TILGHMAN,[5] b. 1518; buried 24 February 1593/4.

5. WILLIAM TILGHMAN[5] (*Richard,*[4] *William,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]), of Holloway Court, was born in 1518 and was buried, according to the Snodland register, 24 February 1593/4. His will was proved 24 April 1594. William Tilghman had four wives. His first wife was Mary, daughter of John Bere of Rochester. His second wife, Joan . . . ., was buried 20 September 1563 (Snodland register). He was married to his third wife, Dorothy Reynolds, 11 August 1567, and she was buried 21 November 1572. About 1575, William Tilghman married his fourth wife, Susanna Whetenhall, daughter of Thomas Whetenhall of Hextall's Court, East Peckham, Kent, and Dorothy his wife, daughter of John Fane. This marriage is recorded both in the Tilghman pedigree and in the very accurate Whetenhall pedigree in Harleian MSS. 1548, fol. 121. Susanna Whetenhall, through her grandmother Alice Berkeley (wife of George Whetenhall), whose mother Elizabeth Neville (wife of Thomas Berkeley) was a daughter of Sir George Neville Baron Abergavenny (d. 1492), was a lineal descendant of King Edward III. By his second and third wives William Tilghman appears to have had no issue.

By his first wife, Mary Bere, he had :—

i. JOAN TILGHMAN,[6] b. 15 Dec. 1540.
6. ii. EDWARD TILGHMAN, b. 15 April 1542; buried 23 Dec. 1611.
iii. HENRY TILGHMAN, b. 11 Jan. 1543/4.
iv. DOROTHY TILGHMAN, b. 4 Feb. 1545.

By his fourth wife, Susanna Whetenhall, William Tilghman had issue :—

7. i. Whetenhall Tilghman, b. 25 July 1576.
ii. Dorothy Tilghman, b. 11 Jan. 1577/8; d. 18 Sept. 1605; mar. Thomas St. Nicholas (b. 1567; d. 1626) of Ashe, Kent, and had six children. See Planché, *A Corner of Kent*, p. 372.
8. iii. Oswald Tilghman, b. 4 Oct. 1579; d. 1628.
iv. Charles Tilghman, b. 13 Oct. 1582; buried 25 May 1608.
v. Lambard Tilghman, b. 10 April 1584; d. young. He was baptized 12 April 1584, one of his godfathers being William Lambard, author of the *Perambulation of Kent*.
vi. Lambard Tilghman, bapt. 18 August 1586; buried 21 Nov. 1586. His birth is not entered by his father, but his baptism and burial are recorded in the Snodland register.

6. Edward Tilghman[6] (*William*,[5] *Richard*,[4] *William*,[3] *Thomas*,[2] *Richard*[1]), of Holloway Court, was born 15 April 1542, and was buried 23 December 1611 (Snodland register). His will was proved 24 April 1612. He married Margaret, daughter of . . . . Brewer of Ditton, who survived him and was buried 23 October 1613.

Edward Tilghman and Margaret (Brewer) his wife had a son :—

i. Francis Tilghman,[7] mar. 15 June 1615, Margery, daughter of Sir Adam Sprackling of Ellington, in Thanet, and had two children, Francis,[8] who died young, Catherine,[8] an infant in 1619. Francis Tilghman inherited Holloway Court, which he sold in the reign of James I.

7. Whetenhall Tilghman[6] (*William*,[5] *Richard*,[4] *William*,[3] *Thomas*,[2] *Richard*[1]) was born 25 July 1576. In 1650, being then advanced in years, he petitioned the Committee for Compounding Royalists' estates, stating that, in 1606, he had purchased of Edward Neville, Lord Abergavenny, for £120, an annuity of £20 on Rotherfield Manor, Sussex, and that the annuity is now in arrears through the sequestration of the manor. In 1652, the Committee decided that he must try his title at law with Lord Abergavenny (Cal. Com. for Compounding, p. 872). Whetenhall Tilghman married Ellen daughter of Richard Renching of London and Susan his wife daughter of Robert Honywood of Charing, Kent, and Marks Hall, Essex. They had issue :—

i. Samuel Tilghman,[7] d. young.
ii. Mary Tilghman, bapt. 11 Dec. 1608.
iii. Isaac Tilghman, b. 1615; d. 21 Dec. 1644.
iv. Nathaniel Tilghman, b. 1616.
v. Samuel Tilghman, b. 1618.
vi. Joseph Tilghman, bapt. 2 Jan. 1625.
vii. Susan Tilghman.
viii. Benjamin Tilghman, bapt. 25 Jan. 1633.

Mrs. Ellen Tilghman, wife of Whetenhall Tilghman, was buried 30 December 1632, having probably died at the birth of her son Benjamin. The names of Whetenhall Tilghman's children are derived from the Visitation of Kent (1619), from the Snodland register, and from *Familiae Minorum Gentium*, p. 1300.

8. Oswald Tilghman[6] (*William*,[5] *Richard*,[4] *William*,[3] *Thomas*,[2] *Richard*[1]) was born, according to his father's careful record, on Sunday, October 4th, 1579, between 1 and 2 o'clock a. m., and was baptized, according to the Snodland register, 11 October 1581, his godparents being Thomas Colepeper and Thomas Shakerly, Gents., and his aunt Lydia Whetenhall. He was a member of the Grocers Company of London and died in 1628, his will being proved 22 January of that year. Oswald Tilghman was twice married. He married first, 13 January 1611/2, Abigail Tayler (then aged 26), daughter of the Rev. Francis Tayler, Vicar of Godalming, Surrey (Harl. Soc. xxvi, 8). His second wife, Elizabeth Packnam, was married to him 15 November 1626 (Harl. Soc. xxv, 179) and is named in his will.

By his first wife Oswald Tilghman had a son:—

i. Dr. Richard Tilghman,[7] b. 3 Sept. 1626; d. 7 Jan. 1675; came to Maryland, in 1661.

(*To be Continued.*)

BROOKE FAMILY.

(*Continued from p.* 73.)

8. Leonard Brooke[5] (*Baker*,[4] *Robert*,[3] *Thomas*,[2] *Richard*[1]) of St. Mary's County died in 1718. He married Ann, daughter of Maj. William Boarman of Charles County. She is mentioned in her father's will as "my daughter Ann Brooke," and the account of Maj. Boarman's estate, rendered 7 April 1711, contains an item of money paid to Leonard Brooke and Ann his wife. The will of Leonard Brooke is dated 1 November 1716, and was proved 2 April 1718. In it he mentions the children given below, his nephews Richard and Leonard Brooke, and his brother-in-law Raphael Neale.

Leonard Brooke and Ann (Boarman) his wife had issue:—

i. Charles Brooke,[6] d. unmar. before 1 July 1761, when his land was divided among his sisters.
ii. Eleanor Brooke, d. 1760; mar. Clement Gardiner of St. Mary's Co., who d. 1747.
iii. Jane Brooke, mar. John Smith of St. Mary's Co., who d. 1736.
iv. Ann Brooke, mar. William Neale.

9. Baker Brooke[5] (*Baker*,[4] *Robert*,[3] *Thomas*,[2] *Richard*[1]) of St. Mary's County died in 1698. He married Katherine Marsham, daughter of his step-father Richard Marsham, and she married, secondly, Samuel Queen of St. Mary's County. Her father, Richard Marsham, mentions in his will (proved 22 April 1723) his grandsons Richard and Leonard Brooke and his daughter's five children by her second marriage.

Baker Brooke and Katherine (Marsham) his wife had issue:—

i. Baker Brooke,[6] d. s. p.
15. ii. Richard Brooke, d. 1719.
16. iii. Leonard Brooke, d. 1736.
iv. Anne Brooke, mar. Benedict Leonard Boarman (b. 1687; d. 1757) of Charles Co.

10. Col. Thomas Brooke[5] (*Thomas*,[4] *Robert*,[3] *Thomas*,[2] *Richard*[1]) of Brookfield, Prince George's County, was born about 1659 and died, according to family record, 7 January 1730/1. He was frequently justice of Calvert County, and in November 1683 was appointed one of the Commissioners for laying out towns and ports in the County. In 1695 his estate of Brookfield was included in the newly formed county of Prince George's. He was a member of the Council of Maryland from 6 April 1692 (Md. Arch. viii, 306) until 1707 when he was dismissed for non-attendance, but was reappointed in 1715 and served until 1724 (ms. U. H. Journals). He took the oath of office as Justice of the Provincial Court 1 May 1694 (Md. Arch. xx, 53), was Deputy Secretary of Maryland in 1695 (*ibid.* 291), and was commissioned, 26 June 1701, Commissary General of the Province (Test. Proc., Lib. 19, fol. 74). In 1720 he was President of the Council and Acting Governor of Maryland from the departure of Gov. John Hart until the arrival of Gov. Charles Calvert (ms. U. H. Journals; Perry's *Church in Maryland*, p. 121). Col. Brooke was twice married. His first wife, Anne, whose parentage is unknown, was living in 1687 when she joined her husband in a deed to Henry Lowe and Susanna his wife "late relict of John Darnall Esq." and to Clement Hill, of part of De la Brooke Manor (Prov. Court, Lib. E. I. no. 10, fol. 265).

His second wife was Barbara, daughter of Thomas Dent of St. Mary's County and Rebecca his wife, daughter of the Rev. William Wilkinson. Barbara Dent was born in 1676, after her father's death, and is therefore not named in his will, but her mother conveys land to trustees for her benefit, 20 November 1676, and this deed is confirmed, 6 June 1704, by Barbara's mother and the latter's second husband, Col. John Addison (Charles Co., Lib. 21, fol. 116, 121). In the deed of confirmation it is recited that Barbara "is now married to the Hon. Thomas Brooke Esq." The marriage took place before 4 January 1699, when Col. Thomas Brooke and Barbara his wife execute a deed together (Pr. Geo. Co., Lib. A., fol. 210). The will of Col. Thomas Brooke is dated 30 November 1730, and was proved 25 January 1730/1. His wife Barbara survived him, and died in 1754. Her will, dated 24 February 1748/9, was proved 26 June 1754. Several of Col. Brooke's children are not mentioned in his will, but were provided for by deeds executed in their father's life time.

Col. Thomas Brooke and Ann his first wife had issue:—

17. i. Thomas Brooke,[6] b. 1683; d. 1744.
ii. Eleanor Brooke, mar. 1. John Tasker (d. 1711), 2. Charles Sewall (d. 1742).
iii. Sarah Brooke, d. 1724; mar. Philip Lee.
iv. Priscilla Brooke, mar. Thomas Gantt.

By his second wife, Barbara Dent, Col. Thomas Brooke had issue:—

i. Nathaniel Brooke.
ii. John Brooke.
iii. Benjamin Brooke.
iv. Baker Brooke.
v. Thomas Brooke, b. 1717; d. 1768, unmarried.
vi. Jane Brooke, d. 1779; mar. about 1720, Alexander Contee of Prince George's Co., who died 24 Dec. 1740.
vii. Rebecca Brooke, d. 1763; mar. John Howard of Charles Co., who d. 1742.
viii. Mary Brooke, d. 1758; mar. Dr. Patrick Sim of Prince George's Co., who d. 24 Oct. 1740. Her grandson, Thomas Sim Lee, was Governor of Maryland 1779–82, and 1792–94.
ix. Elizabeth Brooke, mar. Col. George Beall (b. 1695; d. 1780).
x. Lucy Brooke, mar. Thomas Hodgkin.

The order of birth is uncertain. The fact that Col. Thomas Brooke had two sons named Thomas is attested by his will.

11. Clement Brooke[5] (*Thomas*,[4] *Robert*,[3] *Thomas*,[2] *Richard*[1]), of Prince George's County, was born in 1676, and died in 1737. He is mentioned in his father's will, dated 25 Octo-

ber 1676, as his youngest son, and gives his age as 59 years in a deposition made in 1736 (Chancery, Lib. I. R. no. 2, fol. 800). His will is dated 2 August 1734, and was proved 30 June 1737. He married Jane, daughter of Maj. Nicholas Sewall of St. Mary's County and Susanna his wife, daughter of Col. William Burgess of Anne Arundel County. Maj. Sewall names his daughter Jane Brooke in his will, and the fact of her marriage to Clement Brooke is stated in a deed, dated 31 August 1704, in Anne Arundel County (Lib. WT. no. 2, fol. 222). Mrs. Jane Brooke survived her husband and died in 1761. Her will, dated 20 January 1761, was proved 20 February following.

Clement Brooke and Jane (Sewall) his wife had issue :—

18. i. Henry Brooke,[6] b. 1704; d. 1751.
19. ii. Clement Brooke, d. 1732.
iii. Joseph Brooke, d. unmar. 1767.
iv. Nicholas Brooke.
v. Charles Brooke, d. unmar. 1768.
vi. William Brooke.
vii. Susanna Brooke, d. 1767; mar. 1. Walter Smith of Hall's Craft, Calvert Co. (d. 1734), 2. Hyde Hoxton (d. 1754).
viii. Elizabeth Brooke, mar. Charles Carroll (b. 1702; d. 1781) of Annapolis. Their only son was Charles Carroll of Carrollton (b. 1737; d. 1832), signer of the Declaration of Independence.
ix. Eleanor Brooke, mar. . . . . Harrison.

12. Roger Brooke[5] (*Roger*,[4] *Robert*,[3] *Thomas*,[2] *Richard*[1]), "Eldest sone to Mr. Roger Brooke Senr: and Dorothy his wife was borne ye 12th Day of Aprill 1673. And was marryed to Eliza: Hutchings Junr second Daughter to Mr. Francis Hutchings and Elza: his wife ye 23d Day of Feb'y 1702" (Family Record). Her Father, Francis Hutchins, who died in 1698, represented Calvert County for a number of years in the House of Burgesses. Roger Brooke removed to Prince George's County and died there intestate in 1718. His widow Elizabeth filed her bond 3 September 1718, in the sum of £2000, as administratrix of Roger Brooke late of Prince George's County deceased, her sureties being Nehemiah Birckhead, Jr., and Francis Hutchins (Test. Proc. Lib. 23, fol. 245). She married, secondly, Capt. Richard Smith.

Roger Brooke and Elizabeth (Hutchins) his wife had issue as follows :—

i. Roger Brooke,[6] b. 8 Dec. 1703; d. 28 May 1705.
20. ii. James Brooke, b. 21 Feb. 1705; d. 11 March 1784.
iii. Elizabeth Brooke, b. 23 Nov. 1707; mar. Nathaniel Beall.
iv. Dorothy Brooke, b. 5 July 1709; mar. Archibald Edmondston of Frederick Co.

v. Mary Brooke, b. 29 Dec. 1710.
vi. Ann Brooke, b. 29 March 1712; mar. William Carmichael of Queen Anne Co.
21. vii. Roger Brooke, b. 10 June 1714; d. 1772.
viii. Cassandra Brooke b. 3 April 1716.
ix. Priscilla Brooke (twin), b. 16 Nov. 1717; d. 1783; mar. Charles Browne (d. 1766) of Queen Anne Co.
22. x. Basil Brooke (twin), b. 16 Nov. 1717; d. 1761.

13. John Brooke[5] (*Roger,*[4] *Robert,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]), of Calvert County, was born in 1687 and died in 1735. According to a deposition he was 38 years old in 1725 (Test. Proc., Lib. 27, fol. 275), and his will, dated 21 December 1734, was proved 21 March 1735. His wife Sarah gives her age as 34 years in a deposition made in 1725 (Test. Proc., Lib. 27, fol. 276).

John Brooke and Sarah his wife had issue:—

i. John Brooke,[6] d. 1770; mar. Barbara . . . . and had a son, John Brooke.[7]
ii. James Brooke.
23. iii. Basil Brooke, d. 1757.
iv. Roger Brooke, d. 1770; mar. Ann . . . . , but had no issue.
v. Sarah Brooke, mar. 1. Michael Taney (d. 1743), 2. Edward Cole, Jr. (d. 1761), of St. Mary's Co.
vi. Mary Brooke.

14. Robert Brooke[5] (*Robert,*[4] *Robert,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]), of Calvert County, died in 1715/6. His will, dated 17 January 1715, was proved 10 April 1716. He married Grace, widow of John Boone (d. 1689) of Calvert County. According to a deposition, she was aged 58 years in 1720 (Chancery, Lib. P. L., fol. 519), and her will was proved 30 October 1725.

Robert Brooke and Grace his wife had issue:—

24. i. Robert Brooke,[6] b. 1692; d. 1753.
ii. Charles Brooke.
iii. Elizabeth Brooke, mar. Cuthbert Fenwick (d. 1729) of St. Mary's County.

(*To be Continued.*)

NOTES.

BRENT.—The case of William Brent's Lessee *vs.* Benjamin Tasker (1737) contains much information in regard to the Brent genealogy and, in view of the prominent connection of the family with the early history of Maryland and Virginia, the following brief abstracts of some of the documents cited in evidence may be of interest.

10 Oct. 1642. Giles Brent of Fort Kent Manor conveys to his sister Margaret Brent of St. Mary's, all his lands, &c., to secure payment of certain debts, including one of between £30 and £40 "which I owe to my unkle Mr. Richard Read."

Margaret Brent of Peace, Westmoreland Co., Va.—will dated 26 December 1663. Mentions nephew George Brent; cousin James Clifton; niece Clifton; niece Mary Brent, "daughter of my brother Giles Brent"; Ann Vandan; niece Elizabeth Brent; nephew Richard Brent, "son of my brother Giles Brent," his brother Giles and his sister Mary Brent. "My brother Giles Brent" and his children Giles, Mary, and Richard Brent are appointed executors.

It is in evidence that the above-named Richard Brent died in his father's lifetime intestate and without issue. The date of probate of Margaret Brent's will is not given, but she certainly died before 19 May 1671 when administration on the estate "Margaret Brent late of the Colony of Virginia deceased" was committed to John Fitzherbert. (Test. Proc., Lib. 5, fol. 62.)

Giles Brent of the Retirement, Stafford Co., Va.—will dated 31 August 1671. Mentions daughter Mary Fitzherbert; my son and heir Giles Brent (minor); the right heirs of my honoured father Richard Brent Esq. deceased, anciently Lord of the Manors of Admington and Lark Stoke in the County of Gloucester, in England; my brothers Richard and William Brent, both in England. The date of probate of the will is not given, but it was recorded 15 February 1671/2 (W. and M. Qu'ly, xiii. 165).

It is in evidence that Giles Brent, the son of the testator, was a resident of Virginia and died there leaving two sons, 1. Giles and 2. William, of whom Giles was a resident of Virginia and died there intestate and without issue, whereby the lands in question descended to his brother William, then an infant of 16 years. This William continued to reside in Virginia until he reached the age of 25 years, when he went to England and died in London one year later, in 1709, intestate, "leaving his wife privily with

child" of William Brent, who was born 6 March 1708, some three months after his father's death. This latter William has always been a resident of Great Britain.

A full record of the case is to be found in Prov. Court, Lib. E. I., no. 4 (1737), fol. 1 ff., and an abstract is given in Harris and McHenry's *Reports*, i. 89.

SEWALL.—Henry Sewall, member of the Council and Secretary of Maryland from 1661 until his death in 1665, was a son of Richard Sewall of Nuneaton, in Warwickshire, and Mary his wife, sister of Sir William Dugdale, the compiler of the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. The very full Sewall genealogy published in the Massachusetts Historical Collections (5th Series, vol. v, pp. xvi–xviii) fails to identify Henry as the Secretary of Maryland, but the Maryland records furnish clear evidence upon this point. In the Provincial Court Records (Lib. S., fol. 809) is a lease, dated 10 January 1642, whereby Prudence Sewall of Nuneaton in the County of Warwick, spinster, leases to Henry Cooke of the City of Coventry, felt maker, for the term of 21 years certain property in Coventry. The witnesses were Wm. Allcott, Anne Sewall, Wm. Dudley, Edward Cooke, and John × Kathnins. The lease was recorded in Maryland 10 January 1661, at the request of Henry Sewall, Esq. The nature of Henry Sewall's interest in this lease does not appear, but the fact that he had it recorded is of genealogical importance. Prudence Sewall was undoubtedly his sister, Anne Sewall, who signs as a witness, was another sister, and William Dudley was probably his brother-in-law, the husband of his sister Mary who, according to the Massachusetts genealogy, was the wife of —— Dudley in 1642. The following is an abstract of Henry Sewall's will.

Henry Sewall of Patuxent River, in the Province of Maryland, Esq.—will dated 25 April 1664. "Intending by the Grace of allmighty God to make a Voyage out of the province into the Kingdom of England in the good ship (called the Maryland Merchant) this present year." My well beloved wife Jane may, if she see cause, sell all my property real and personal. To my brother Samuel Sewall, 200 acres "where my good wife shall think fit," and personality. To my cousin Richard Dudley, 100 acres "according to my dear wife's good liking," and personality. 3000 lb. tobacco "to the Fathers now resident in this province to have my soule prayed for." All the remainder of my estate, both real and personal, to my well beloved wife Jane to be equally divided amongst my dear children Nicholas, Elizabeth, Mary, and

Ann Sewall, and the child my wife is now "Bigg of" to have an equal share with them. My wife Jane sole executrix.

The will was proved 17 April 1665, and is recorded at Annapolis in Lib. 1, fol. 225. The testator's "cousin" Richard Dudley was doubtless his nephew, the son of his sister Mary. His brother Samuel Sewall was a minor in 1648 according to the Massachusetts genealogy. It thus appears that Henry Sewall, Secretary of Maryland, was the nephew of Henry Sewall, the ancestor of the New England family, who died at Rowley, Mass., in 1657.

QUERIES.

HATTON.—Thomas Hatton, Secretary of Maryland, was slain at the battle of the Severn in 1655 leaving, by Margaret his wife (d. 1657), two sons: Robert, who died without issue in 1678, and Thomas, who died in 1675, leaving a son of the same name. The Secretary had a brother, Richard Hatton, dead in 1649, leaving a widow, Margaret, and six children, William, Richard, Barbara, Elizabeth, Mary, and Eleanor Hatton. The widow and children of Richard Hatton came to Maryland in 1649. Can any correspondent throw light upon the English progenitors of this family?

UTYE.—30 November 1660, Nathaniel Utye of Baltimore County gives a power of attorney to his "loving unkle," Mr. Richard Collett, to collect debts due him in Patuxent and Potomac (Prov. Court, Lib. S., fol. 407). Richard Collett, who came to Maryland in 1650, was the son of John Collett (d. 29 March 1650, aged 72) of London and Susan Farrar his wife, daughter of Nicholas Farrar. Nathaniel Utye was probably the son of John Utye of Virginia, though proof is wanting to establish the fact. The Collett pedigree in Ryley and Dethick's *Visitation of Middlesex* (p. 47) and in the *Life of Nicholas Farrar* (ed. J. E. B. Mayor, Cambridge, 1855) shows no daughter of John Collett married to a Utye. In what way was Nathaniel Utye the nephew of Richard Collett?

JENINGS.—Edmund Jenings, Secretary of Maryland 1732–1755, in his will (dated 10 March 1756) bequeaths to his "nephew Edmund Jenings of the Province of Maryland," four negroes, the implements and other property on his plantation in the forks of the Patuxent, and a life interest in the plantation. Secretary

Jenings was the son of Edmund Jenings (b. 1659; d. 1727), Attorney General of Virginia, by Frances his wife, daughter of Henry Corbin, and he had two sisters, Frances wife of Charles Grimes and Elizabeth wife of Robert Porteus, but no brother is mentioned in the published pedigrees of the family. At a Council meeting, held 16 March 1752, a certificate is filed, dated 30 Dec. 1751, of the fact that Gov. Samuel Ogle had received the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, and it is witnessed by "Edm^{d} Jenings jun., son of W^{m}." Was this Edmund Jenings, Jr., the nephew mentioned in Secretary Jening's will?

QUERY.

PARKERSBURG, W. VA., May 21, 1906.

Editor of the Md. Historical Magazine.

SIR:—Will you be kind enough to answer the following question: In the sale of a country place in Maryland, is the family grave-yard included in the sale if no special exemption is made of it at the time?

A SUBSCRIBER.

From a high legal authority we have the following answer:

"Yes; unless specially reserved in the deed, a family grave-yard passes with the balance of the place to the purchaser."

NOTE.

On p. 46, l. 1 of the March number of this *Magazine*, occurs the statement that "Col. John Snowden" introduced iron-smelting into Maryland. A correspondent, the Rev. L. B. Thomas, of Nevis, W. I., questions this statement. The iron-smelter, he says, was Richard Snowden (without title), and that the introduction of iron-smelting into the Colony should be credited to the Principio Co. of Cecil County. In confirmation he refers to the "Thomas Book," pp. 482, 509, and to the *Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, vol. XI, pp. 63, 190, 288.

We have referred this note to the Rev. Dr. Leakin, the writer of the article, and he authorizes us to say that the first proposed alteration is correct, and that "Col. John" should read "Richard." The second point he reserves for further examination.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

Monthly Meeting, held March 12th, 1906.—The March meeting was held on the above date with a good attendance of the members. After reading the minutes of the preceding meeting, the Recording Secretary announced that the representatives of Committees in the Council for the ensuing year would be as follows:—

From the Trustees of the Athenæum,
Mr. Edward Stabler, Jr.

From the Committee on the Gallery,
Mr. Miles White, Jr.

From the Committee on the Library,
Hon. Charles E. Phelps.

From the Committee on Publication,
Mr. Clayton C. Hall.

From the Committee on Genealogy and Heraldry,
Mr. George Norbury Mackenzie.

From the Committee on Membership,
Mr. McHenry Howard.

From the Committee on Finance,
Hon. Edwin Warfield.

From the Committee on Addresses and Literary Entertainments, Mr. Andrew C. Trippe.

The following persons who had been nominated at the February meeting were, upon ballot, elected to membership:—Mr. Jacob H. Furst, Mr. George W. Hyde, and Mrs. Theodore H. Ellis.

Resignations were presented from Mr. George C. Wilkins and Mrs. A. Leo Knott and accepted.

The Committee previously appointed to audit the accounts of the Treasurer presented its report and the same was read and placed on file.

Announcement was made of the death during the month of three members of the Society—Messrs. William H. Gill, W. H. Pagon and J. Leiper Patterson.

The motion made at the February meeting to adopt the recommendation of the Committee on Publication, and after the appearance of the *Magazine* to discontinue the free distribution among the members of the Society of the volumes of the Archives, was further considered by the Society, and the recommendation amended so as to provide that a notice of the change should be sent out with the first number of the *Magazine*, and after being thus amended the recommendation was unanimously adopted.

A communication was read from the Maryland Cruiser Fund Commission requesting that the Society would edit the paper which was being prepared to accompany the gift of a silver service to the cruiser Maryland. The request was granted and Messrs. Henry F. Thompson and Richard D. Fisher were appointed as the Editing Committee.

A resolution was adopted extending to the American Jewish Historical Society an invitation to visit our rooms and collections while in this City in attendance upon their annual gathering.

The paper of the evening was read by Mr. William H. Love on "The Memorials of the Stone Age of the Maryland Indians." The author described with considerable detail the localities where the manufacture of stone implements had been carried on by the Indians in Maryland and the District of Columbia and the character of implements and utensils made by them, the material of which they were made and the method of manufacture. A large number of examples of the work of the Indians which had been collected by the author while pursuing his investigations were shown, materially adding to the interest of the paper.

Monthly Meeting, held April 9th, 1906.—The April meeting was held on this date with the usual attendance. Mrs. Harry Rogers and Messrs. Raphael T. Semmes and Clarence H. Forrest, hitherto regularly nominated, were elected members of the Society.

In response to an invitation extended by Mr. Daniel R. Randall, the President was requested to appoint a Committee of five mem-

bers of the Society to attend the ceremonies incident to the laying of the base-stone of the monument to be erected at Annapolis to the French soldiers and sailors buried there during the War of the Revolution.

The paper of the evening was read by Mr. Charles F. Ranft, whose subject was "The Colonial Post Office." Mr. Ranft described the problems of postal administration during the Colonial Period in considerable detail, and his paper was of timely interest on account of its reference to the conspicuous work of Benjamin Franklin in the development of American posts and post roads.

Monthly Meeting, held May 14th, 1906.—The May meeting was held on this date with the usual attendance. Rev. Edward P. McAdams, Mrs. D. H. Barclay and Messrs. Horace C. McElderry and Walter B. Swindell, hitherto regularly nominated, were elected members of the Society. The death during the month of Mr. E. J. D. Cross, an active member of the Society, was announced.

On motion of Judge Stockbridge, the thanks of the Society were voted Mrs. Lennox Birckhead for the donation of a collection of local newspapers not hitherto included in the Society's collection.

Hon. Ferdinand C. Latrobe, who had been named by the President as the representative of this Society at the ceremonies held in Philadelphia in honor of the bicentenary of the founding of the American Philosophical Society, tendered the report of his mission and gave an interesting account of the function.

Mr. Richard D. Fisher, of the Committee appointed to attend the ceremonies connected with the laying of the base-stone of the monument at Annapolis to the memory of French soldiers and sailors in the Revolutionary War, reported that the Committee had attended the ceremonies on April 26th, and that the occasion was one of decided interest. The Committee consisted of Messrs. Henry Stockbridge, Richard D. Fisher, DeCourcy W. Thom, Clayton C. Hall, and George Norbury Mackenzie.

Action on a proposed change in the Constitution, offered at this meeting and which by amending the appropriate section would

dispense with the June meeting of the Society, was deferred to the October meeting.

The paper of the evening was read by Mr. Alfred S. Niles, and was entitled "William Pinkney, a Sketch." The paper was of unusual interest in that the lecturer addressed his subject primarily from the point of view of the lawyer and devoted considerable attention to the more important causes in which the great advocate was retained. He spoke also of Mr. Pinkney's intimate connection with the bar of the State and called attention to the fact that during his whole career he considered Maryland his residence.

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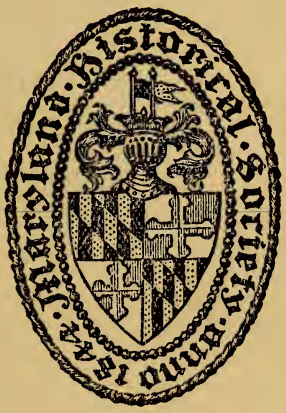

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MARYLAND

HISTORICAL MAGAZINE

VOL. I. SEPTEMBER, 1906. No. 3.

A REVIEW OF THE BATTLE OF BLADENSBURG.

II.

The testimony which I now submit comes from the men who participated in that unfortunate battle, and most, if not all of them acknowledge that but for the blundering of some one a different result would have been attained.

The first writer to be presented is Col. McLane, an eminent tactician of Revolutionary fame, who said:

"At sunrise in the morning of August 23, General Winder and I visited the President and submitted to him a plan of battle, both offensive and defensive, which had the approval of several brigade commanders assembled at or near Bladensburg, that to concentrate our main force at some protected spot which would enable them to pour a destructive fire into the ranks of the advancing enemy, being kept at bay by the artillery and riflemen, and within easy call the remainder of the army on the Georgetown and Washington roads, thus making it impossible for the enemy to pass a given point even if they succeeded in forcing the first line from their position; then to have at hand the cavalry and light artillery to annoy the rear guard if the enemy retreated. Now in the event that the enemy penetrated these two lines of

defenses and drove back the artillery, the infantry and riflemen were to find protected places behind the stone walls and fences and pour a rapid and continuous fire into them, making their progress impossible.

"In support of this plan I mentioned the well-known affair at Lexington, Mass., in which 1800 British were almost annihilated by the cross fire of scattered companies protected by fences and bushes, wood-piles, and houses; and concluded by saying, Mr. President, in the success of this against the best plan executed by the enemy, I will pledge my reputation and my life, and I earnestly recommend it to your adoption.

"General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, being present, appeared to be pleased and it is supposed discussed the matter with his Excellency after our departure, but we might have saved our breath, for nothing came of it."

Major William Pinkney, speaking of the changes made in the plans at the last moment, said: "The 5th Md. Infantry, much to the chagrin of Col. Sterett and to the great disparagement of my battalion, were made to retire to ground several hundred yards in the rear, but visible to the enemy, where they could display nothing more than gallantry."

General Smith of Washington, said that "when the order was given for a general retreat my soldiers and officers evidenced astonishment and indignation that they were to fall back ignominiously before they had had a chance to resist so impudent an enemy."

The testimony of General Tobias E. Stansbury is quite voluminous and I can give only a few facts bearing upon the principal points at issue.

According to this soldier "The 5th Infantry under Col. Joseph Sterett, the best disciplined and equipped regiment in my command, indeed on the field, had been placed in a position slightly in the rear of the Baltimore Artillery and Pinkney's riflemen, while the regiments of Ragan and Shutz, also of Maryland, were placed on the other end not far from the Washington road, with the intention that the infantry were to protect the artillery and riflemen and prevent their being flanked. This

position was one of great responsibility and great honor, which they seemed to appreciate for they moved to their positions with alacrity and enthusiasm.

"As I rode off a short distance to give some order to the artillery, I was greatly surprised to see the regiments of Regan and Shutz marching to the rear at the moment when the enemy was seen in the road. I hastened to where General Winder stood on a little elevation and while conversing with him regarding this most unmilitary and incomprehensible movement and turned to point out the mistake of this order, when to my amazement and consternation saw the 5th Regiment also marching away to an exposed position in reach of the enemy's rockets, without cover or opportunity to inflict any damage whatever upon the enemy, thus taking away the support of the artillery and riflemen and leaving them to receive the first shock of the attack. I rode quickly back to General Winder and demanded sharply to know why such an order had been given, although I suspected who had done so, for I saw James Monroe riding with Col. Sterett, and I knew he was interfering with the commander.

"To my inquiry, General Winder replied: 'I do not know, it was not my order, nor does it meet with my approbation. I suppose my superior officer has ordered it.'"

(Now General Winder had but one living superior officer and that was the President of the United States.)

General Stansbury continues: "I knew in a moment that this last movement had lost us the battle and before a shot was fired, for it left Pinkney's riflemen and the two Baltimore batteries without support, but the number of dead British soldiers found opposite this command after the battle will prove how well they did their duty, even without support."

I write the reliable testimony of General Stansbury with great pride, and let it here be recorded to the honor of Pinkney and his brave riflemen as well as the Baltimore batteries of Magruder and Myers, that had they been veterans of many campaigns instead of militia, they could not have been more gallant, and Pinkney deserted by all but the artillery, remained in the firing line until

overwhelmed by three times their number, and although wounded himself, retired from the field without the loss of a gun.

A most remarkable story now follows and from no other than General William H. Winder, the commander. Said he:

"A few moments preceding the battle I rode up to a battery which had been thrown up to command the street entering Bladensburg and found them to be Magruder and Myers' artillery from Baltimore; they were well posted and were supported on the right by a battalion of riflemen and on the left by two regiments of infantry, all of Baltimore.

"I learned that General Stansbury was on a slight rise of ground near an apple orchard with the 5th Regiment and in a most excellent position.

"I rode quickly to his side and found him and Col. Monroe together. Col. Monroe said as he rode away that he had ordered Col. Sterett to post his command in a rear position. I had scarcely time to examine the situation when an orderly rode up rapidly and informed me that a column of the enemy was in sight. The riflemen soon after began to fire and after a few volleys were seen to fall back to the edge of the orchard and soon after to retire to the left of Stansbury's line.

"I immediately ordered the 5th Md. Regiment forward to sustain the artillery which were now giving signs of an intention to fall back; they immediately commenced the movement in the face of a shower of rockets, when the two regiments of Regan and Shutz, occupying the center of the line, received a shower of rockets in their ranks which caused them to break ranks and fly. After several fruitless efforts to rally them, I turned to the 5th Regiment, but to my surprise they had also fallen back. Riding to their commander, I then ordered them all to fall back and make another stand near Washington, but at Washington I found no troops.

"Undoubtedly some very grave errors occurred in the action at Bladensburg, which I would not repeat under the same conditions."

This account from General Winder is by no means satisfactory, or does it agree with other accounts.

General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, said, in conversation

a few days after the battle, when most of the people and officials had returned to the Capital:

"After I was requested by the President to give up for a time the functions of my office, I was a mere spectator, and as soon as I saw that the infantry had been taken away from the artillery I saw that an invitation was given the enemy to turn our left, and they were not long in accepting it either. The busy and blundering Col. Monroe was responsible for the defeat a short time later. I am in no way responsible for the disgraceful affair."

After the battle no one could be found to accept the responsibility of the fatal blundering, but almost to a man, except General Armstrong, tried to fasten the blame upon General Winder on the ground of inexperience of military affairs; and while it was certain that he was not the man to command on so important an occasion, he cannot be held responsible for the disasters of that day, for while he was nominally the chief in command, the orders which made defeat inevitable emanated from his superior, the President, and this came out in the investigation by Congress, but the results of this were of such a partizan character that none of the military men would abide by it.

General Winder, under severe censure, made no effort to shift the responsibility on any one, which he could easily have done, and had he done so, it might have resulted in preventing the election of James Monroe as the successor of James Madison, but he remained silent and soon severed his connection with the army. He may have been without that military experience necessary in a commander; but he was never without honor, truthfulness, and patriotism: he was a true Maryland gentleman.

The over-anxiety of the administration to relieve themselves of censure, was evidence of their deserving it. If they had selected a commander-in-chief solely upon the ground of his fitness, and had complied with his reasonable demands as far as laid in their power, there would have been no necessity to exert that powerful political influence which they brought to bear upon Congress later to suppress the testimony which showed that the blame for the blundering of Mr. Monroe by authority of President Madison had made the catastrophe inevitable.

In the proclamation of the President later it was made to convey the impression that the disaster was chargeable to the private soldiers and the subordinate officers, which according to the testimony that I present is absolutely untrue. While nearly all the troops present were raw militia with only a limited acquaintance with the drill master and had never faced an enemy before, they evidenced, with one or two exceptions, a desire to engage in the conflict.

Confidence of troops in their commander is certainly the main element of victory; but how was it possible for General Winder's soldiers, having no personal knowledge of him, to feel a confidence, when at the most critical moment those who knew him best—the President and Cabinet—were unwilling to trust to his capacity and kept him in a state of supervision and doubt all the time, urging him to do this and that, and finally with the enemy almost upon them, posted his troops for him without his knowledge or consent.

The few personal friends of the selected commander admitted that there was nothing in his antecedent career that recommended him to the preference of the President. But we do find great fault with General Winder for accepting so important a command when in the regular army in and near the Capital there were a number of experienced officers of the Revolution.

Winder had just returned from a long captivity in Canada and was not thoroughly conversant with the conditions that prevailed; he was not in a mental or physical state to carry out the details necessary to so important a defense; and before the battle his appointment was spoken of as a great mistake and afterwards as a calamity.

Generals Samuel Smith, John Stricker, Tobias E. Stansbury, and Thomas Foreman, all of Maryland, and of Revolutionary experience, would have been acceptable, and General Moses Porter, the Commandant at Norfolk, a splendid soldier of forty years' experience in military affairs and outranking General Winder and a dozen others, would have inspired the soldiers with confidence when they appeared on the field. But the fact remains that although he did all in his power to rally the men in the last

moment, with the hope that a stand could be made at Washington, no soldiers were found, upon his arrival, to do so,—the gate of the nation's Capital stood wide open, the British accepted the invitation, and by acts of barbarity and vandalism steeped their flag in ignominy.

The defenseless condition of the city was well known to Ross and Cockburn, and why they should destroy our Capital was known only to themselves, for certainly there was no military advantage to be gained by the burning of Washington.

The lighted torch in the hands of Lieutenant Parker of the navy, by order of Admiral Cockburn, set fire to our public buildings and all but the Patent Office were destroyed. In the burning of the Library of Congress our government lost many valuable documents and rolls of troops in the Revolution; and but for the providential torrent of rain which burst upon the Capital City about nine o'clock that evening, not a building would have been spared. Our government, stung to the quick by this wanton destruction of public buildings and property, caused Mr. Monroe to write to Admiral Cockburn and General Ross regarding this uncivilized method of warfare. Cockburn's reply was "That he had been instructed by his government to lay waste such towns and districts on the coast that he found assailable, but upon reflection he experienced much regret that it should have been done, and if it were revocable would not be repeated under similar circumstances."

General Ross made no reply, although he received the letter on September 6th. But nothing could have been expected of him, for he had won his spurs in the Spanish wars and acquired his morals and learned his catechism in that atmosphere. If he had been in any way responsible for this outrage he never regretted it, for it is said he boasted of it on his way to his death at North Point.

Civilized warfare has its laws, and international ethics should prevail during the time of war as well as peace; and the greatest achievement of Christian civilization has been to soften the horrors and excesses of war and to condemn savage barbarity.

When the news of the capture of Washington was received in

London it caused great rejoicing. The Tower guns were fired three times in honor of the event. But when the details of the destruction of public and private property and the plunder of the people was received, it caused great shame.

The *London Spectator* said: "Would that we could throw a veil of oblivion over our transaction at Washington. Even the Cossacks spared Paris, but Englishmen spared not the Capital of America."

The *Liverpool Mercury* said: "If the people of the United States retain any portion of the spirit with which they contended successfully for their independence, the effect of these flames will not soon be extinguished."

The *British Annual* said: "The proceedings of Ross and Cockburn at Washington were a return to the times of barbarism, which would bring a heavy censure upon British character."

Let it be said to the shame of George IV that this warfare, which would have disgraced banditti, not only met with his approval, but Admiral Cockburn upon his return to England was the subject of his favor. The first honor conferred upon him was that of Royal jailer to Bonaparte on his way to St. Helena, and is said he insulted General Bonaparte only three times. The last caused the prisoner to turn his back on the insulter and walk away, to be reminded by the Admiral that he, Bonaparte, had not read Chesterfield carefully. "No," replied Bonaparte; "I have not, but I see you have."

As soon as the order was given for a general retreat at the moment when the 5th Regiment fell back, it was known to Mr. Madison that the army of defense had been totally defeated and dispersed, and that no stand could be made at Washington. He hastened to the White House and found Mrs. Madison and her attendants packing up every article that could be carried away in her carriage, she having been notified of the great disaster only a short time before the arrival of the President.

All was silent except the low voice of Mrs. Madison giving directions; the carriage was before the door; the President was hurriedly gathering up official documents and cramming them into a portfolio. An explosion near by alarmed them and quickly

gathering up the things she hastened to the door, giving directions to one of the servants to carry the Stuart portrait of Washington to a friend in Georgetown, and entered her carriage just as the President and friends mounted their horses. Her carriage was about to move off when she remembered not having seen the Declaration, it being overlooked in their haste. Reentering the house she soon returned, holding up triumphantly that precious document; entering her carriage she bowed to her husband and drove off. Not a tear was upon her cheek at this sad hour, but on her face was a look of defiance, with a salutation of dignity to all whom she passed. She bade adieu to her home and became a fugitive from her country's capital.

Mr. Madison, in company with some of his cabinet and friends, all on horseback, rode away in another direction, it having been arranged between them that Mrs. Madison was to await him at a certain tavern on the Maryland side.

Mr. Richard Rush, in a letter written some years after the war, referring to the flight of the President, said:

"Never can be forgotten by me as I accompanied out of the city on that memorable night of August 24, 1814, President Madison, General Armstrong, Secretary of War, General Mason, Mr. Charles Carroll of Belleview, and Mr. Tench Ringgold.

"We were all on horseback, as we looked back over our homes on that night and saw that all of the public buildings were on fire, some burning slowly and others with sudden bursts of flames, mounting high up in the horizon, shall I ever forget these moments? At intervals the dismal sight was lost to view as we rode down hill to again see the heavens lighted up as we rode up hill again; on we went, slowly and sadly followed by our servants, and soon reached the Virginia side of the Potomac with the intention of recrossing to the Maryland side at Great Falls, to be near the scene of action and to watch the movements of the enemy."

The following is a most valuable and interesting letter written by Miss Polly Kemp of the Eastern Shore, but a resident of Washington at that time, which throws some light on the state of affairs and certainly clears away many doubts which have existed for eighty-eight years regarding the movements of the President and

Mrs. Madison in their flight from Washington. The letter is written to her cousin Alice in Baltimore, is dated on December, 1814, and reads thus:

"It was an almost suffocating day in August, the 24th, when the sound of guns reached our ears, we were all tuned up to a high pitch of excitement from early morn until afternoon when our flying soldiers from the battle-field at Bladensburg, told us that our army had been completely routed and that the enemy was marching rapidly on to Washington, Uncle John, who, as you know, was in the city militia, came to us immediately and all was bustle. While the carriage was coming, we got together all of our valuables and soon we were in the midst of a great cavalcade of teams of all descriptions, moving as rapidly as possible into Maryland, and it was near midnight before we reached the tavern. Before that it began to rain in great torrents, the lightning and thunder adding to the terrors of a dark night, our man walked ahead with a lantern, the outhouses and stable were full so that our poor tired rain-beaten horse had to be tied to the trees and remain out in the rain for hours, we were made as comfortable as was possible in our wet garments, and had been seated scarcely an hour when there was a loud rap upon the door and the great rough tavern keeper made it known to us in an angry voice that the intruder was Dolly Madison, as he attempted to push her away from the door. Father indignantly sprang to the door and pushing aside the angry keeper, went out in the rain to find that lady walking away in that terrible rain. Taking her by the arm he led her back into the house. The keeper began denouncing the President as the cause of the war and the destruction of the capital; many of the occupants murmured against admitting her, but father was determined that she should remain and remain she did: we took her under our special protection. We sat silently until 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning, when a rap came upon the door, one of our party opened the door and who should walk in but President Madison himself and several gentlemen, but the President did not remain long. An hour later a messenger announced to the President that the enemy was coming that way, he quickly drew on his great cloak and kissing his wife went out again into the storm

followed by his faithful followers. By daybreak, Mrs. Madison became restless and could not stand the suspense any longer and started out with her coachman to find Mr. Madison. After they had gone some of the people in the tavern who were under the influence of liquor, were very angry with father for admitting them. How very sorry we were for Queen Dolly as she was called sometimes.

"During all these indignities she spoke not a word. Towards morning a straggler came in and reported that the enemy had evacuated Washington, and soon the sad cavalcade began their tramp back to the city. It is true we were all indignant at the inactivity of Mr. President and his advisers in their stupid management of affairs. You or I could have done better. But at the sight of lovely Dolly Madison our bitterness relented, and we all tried to heal the wounds received at the hands of their countrymen, but the comedy of errors, as the battle was called, was over but not forgotten, and never will be while the blackened walls remain to remind us of the barbarian's visit and our great loss, and as father says, the blow to our national dignity. How proud you must have been to see your brave Baltimore boys marching home from North Point. I was so proud when I read the account of that glorious battle in the newspapers. I am a native of the Eastern Shore and I glory in it."

You will notice that I have spoken little of the other forces and confined my remarks to Maryland alone, because the others played so little part in the war game, but a large part in the stampede which no human power could arrest.

As the battle progressed, they simply melted away, home, country, honor was lost sight of, personal safety was sought at the sacrifice of everything. Let it be said, however, in extenuation of their conduct, that they were only militia, never having been on the firing line before, and so badly scattered that they lost confidence in themselves, too readily listening to idle rumors that floated over the battle-field, with no knowledge or confidence in their commander, what other result could have been attained?—so that the brunt of the battle fell upon the Baltimore brigade with the exception of several companies which very early sought safety

in flight. But old General Stansbury was so sure of his men that he went into battle exultantly; his spirit of daring was so ardent that it was a source of real inspiration to his men, and so crestfallen was he when he saw that a bungling hand had robbed his brigade of a great victory that he used language stronger than elegant.

The statement was made by Admiral Cockburn, that the American army of 8,000 men had been dislodged by about 1,500 men as soon as reached. If this statement was accepted, how can one reconcile the fact that they were two hours in making their way through militia regiments; but there is no truth in it. The actual number of men in conflict at one time on the American side was about 2,100, while that of the enemy was 2,000 to 3,000, because the original attacking party of the enemy was 1,500, but it must be remembered that they were reinforced several times, and it is well to remember also that the artillery of Magruder and Myers and Pinkney's riflemen, not over 300 men, held the 1,500 men of the enemy in check for over an hour without any support at all. Had the 5th and the two other Maryland regiments remained as their support, the British could never have crossed the bridge.

As to the amount of fighting done by Pinkney and the artillery in that short time, nearly 200 dead bodies of the enemy were found after the battle in front of this command.

Niles' Register places the number of the enemy at 5,100; Gleg, the English historian, says it was 4,500; the *Subaltern*, 4,000; the exact number we shall never know for none of these writers have been guided by truth.

Another English historian, Allison, is more untruthful than all others and that in the face of official reports of those in command. Honorable warfare makes the victorious proud but generous, proud of their prowess and this ofttimes removes the sting of defeat from the brave vanquished; but in the breasts of the American soldiers as they retreated from Bladensburg, as they looked back at the mailed hand of the barbarian, deep hatred for their foes filled their breasts and thirst for revenge filled their hearts.

On the morning of September 14, 1814, when it became known that General Ross had been killed and his army under Col. Brooke

retreated before the brigade of Stansbury at Loudenslager's Hill, the shame which they had felt at Bladensburg for their heartless enemy, was changed to contempt for the commander who feared to meet again the militia of Maryland.

It is deeply regretted by every true lover of our country, that the splendid services rendered the nation by James Madison, for he was justly called the father of the Constitution, should have been dimmed by the closing years of his administration; for while he was a true patriot and a wise statesman, he knew nothing of the science of war and, unfortunately, his advisers knew little more.

Addenda.

From an Old Newspaper, published in 1848, entitled

"AN HISTORICAL ERROR CORRECTED."

"It has always been universally believed for the last thirty years and more that the full length portrait of General Washington, which adorned one of the rooms in the State House at Washington, was saved from the conflagration caused by the British in 1814, by General Mason. We know that General Jackson was so strongly impressed by that belief as to express some anger when the merit of the rescue was ascribed to another. Mr. Jacob Barker, now of New Orleans, who was one of the real saviours on that occasion, has been induced recently to write out his recollections on the subject for the *N. Y. Express*, in the form of a letter to the gentleman, Robt. G. L. De Peyster, who assisted him in saving the picture. It contains many interesting references in localities in the neighborhood of Georgetown, D. C., relating that it was at the instance of Mrs. Dolly Madison, who in that hour of danger evinced the most admirable presence of mind, that they took measures to receive the picture, procuring a cart and taking it through Georgetown, thence on the road to the Montgomery County Court House, where after concealing themselves in the woods for some time to rest, they deposited it with a widow lady at a country house, some distance from the road. Six weeks later, Mr. Barker called, in company with Miss Dashiell and took the

picture away to Washington and delivered it to Mr. Monroe, the Secretary of State and War, who promised to have it varnished and placed in a new frame and reinstated in the President's house where it still remains. What agency General Mason may have had in restoring it to its present place, Mr. Barker does not know. Mr. Barker accounts for General Jackson's error by supposing that General Mason might possibly have been of a party who came in with the President from the battle-field (Bladensburg), whilst they were engaged in securing the picture, several persons he says assisted in taking it down and General Mason might have been one of them, but the most active was the venerable Mr. Carroll. He says of the party, Mr. Carroll left with the President and the others all left before the retreating army reached the city, excepting you, myself and servant."

NOTE.—General Mason was with President Madison on the battle-field of Bladensburg and rode with him to the White House and may have assisted in taking down the picture, but General Mason and Mr. Carroll rode away with President Madison into Virginia, and Mr. Barker and others, with the painting in their possession, rode towards Georgetown.

A. K. HADEL.

TWO COMMISSIONS.

Commission of Charles I. to Leonard Calvert: Jany. 26, 1643/4.

From State Papers, Public Record Office, London.

Charles R.

Charles by the Grace of God of Scotland ffrance and Ireland King, defender of the ffaith &c to our trustye and well beloved Leonard Calvert esquire greeting Whereas we are sufficiently informed that our Rebellious Subjects of the Citty of London drive a great trade in the Dominion and Collony of Virginia receiving dayly great advantadges from thence which they ympiously spend in vaste Contribucons towards the maintenance of an unnatural warre against us Wee therefore having an especiall trust and Reposing great Confidence in your abilitye fidelitye and affection to our Service have with mature advice and deliberacon now made and by these Presents for us and our heyres doe make and Constitute you the said Leonard Calvert our full and absolute Commissioner to the effect following That is to say Wee by these presents give you full power & authority & strictly command you to repayre with all Convenient Speede unto our sayde Collony of Virginia and together with the assistance of our trustye and well beloved Sir William Berkely, Knight &c Governor of our sayd Collony of Virginia or other our Lft Governour there for the tyme being there to seize and take or cause to be seized and taken into your hands all such Shipes and Vessells ordnance arms and Ammunicon thereunto belonging and also all Plate money goods Chattells and Debts of any Londoners whatsoever or of any of our Citties Towns or places in Actual Rebellion against us—As likewise to receive all such Shippes and Vessells Ordnance Armes and Ammunicon Plate money goods or Chattells and Debts which our sayd Governour for the tyme being shall with your Assistance & advice or otherwayes seize or cause to be seized and delivered into

your hands within the Precinct of his Government with full power to dispose of any of them by way of Sale Composition or barter according to your best discretion upon such Accompts to be made by you thereof as you are by this our Commission authorized and required to make as also to compound agree and make releases and discharges for and Concerning any Debt owing from any Inhabitant there by Sea or land upon Accompt or otherwise to any Londoner or other the persons in Rebellion as above-menconed And wee will hereby will and ordaine that such Composition release discharge and bargain be good as well against us o^{r} heyres as against any pretender whatsoever And we do hereby authorize you in case you happen in your voyage outward or homeward bound to light upon any Shippe or Vessell which you shall have cause to Suspect doth belong to anye Londoner or other persons in rebellion as aforesayd uppon the High Seas or in any harbor porte or Creeke not under the Commannd of our Castles of our sd Collony of Virginia to bid them amaine in our name, and if you find them to belong to anye Londoner or other pson in rebellion as aforesayd to seize and take the sayd Shippes and men Goods and merchandizings in them into your hands, and uppon their refusall or delay to yeeld themselves unto you, the same by force of Armes to assault surprise subdue and bring under your Commannd: and the psons resisting to slay or kill as in case of open warre and the Shippes or Vessells soe taken together with them their tackle and furniture Ordnance and Ammunicon Goods and Merchandize dispose of att your best discrecon upon such Accompts to be made by you thereof as you are by this Commission authorized and required to make, And when you shall have finished this your imployment in those partes and shall be ready to returne thence Wee doe hereby give you full power and Authoritye to loade aboard such Shippe or Shippes as shall be soe taken or seized upon as aforesayd any goods or merchandize which you shall not have disposed of in those parts And our will and pleasure is and wee strictly Commannd that before your depture from Virginia at yo^{r} returne homewards you make a true and pfect Inventory of all Shippes and goods soe to be seized by land or by water in Virginia as aforesayd And of all Compositions Sales and releases

by you to be made by virtue of this our Commission to you and that you deliver the said Inventory upon oath unto our said Governour under your hands and demannd a Duplicate thereof under his hand to be tendered unto us or to whom we shall appoint att your returne. And we doe also hereby make and Constitute you a Captaine and Commander in Chiefe not only of the Shippe you go in and of all other Shippes of Warre which you shall carrye with you in this voyage: But also of all other Shippes and Vessells which you shall take either by the way going or returning or cause to be seized on in Virginia or elsewhere in those partes as aforesayd and of the officers and Seamen belonging to them with full power and authoritye to make & ordaine Captaines Masters and other Officers and Mariners in any and every of them and for such wages as you shall agree with them for And wee also by these Presents give you further power and Authoritye in this your voyage if occasion shall aryse of making Sedition or practises against this our present Service or any other Crime with the advice of the cheife Officers of your Shippe or Shippes by Martiall law to proceed against such as shall be under your Command upon the high Seas or in anye porte or harbour where your Shippe or Shippes shall ride not under the Command of our Castles there and to inflict any punishment on the offender or offenders according to the Qualitye of his offence and Custome of the Sea even to the mutilacon of member and life yf the Qualitye of the crime soe require in as full large and ample manner as any other Generall or Commander of ours in cheife in any of our Armies by Sea or land now doe or may doe. And for your so doeing this shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge: And in case you shall happen to find any ffreemen in Virginia not Servants nor indebted to our good Subjects there who shall be desirous and willing to come over with you to serve us here by Sea or by land then our pleasure is that with the Assent of our Governor there for the tyme being you entertaine them aboard your sayd Shippe or Shippes and that you agree with them on Our behalfe to enter into our pay att their first arrivall in England under the Command of such experienced Captaine or Captaines officer or officers as they shall best like of amongst those of that Countrey who shall happen to

come over with them which agreements of yours on our behalfe wee for our parte shall fully pforme unto them And in regard our trusty & well beloved Cæcilius Lord Baltimore is to be att a greate charge in provision of victualls men Armes and divers other things for the accomplishing of this Service of seizing the Shippes and goods abovemenconed wee in consideracon thereof and for divers other good Causes & Consideracons have given granted and by these presents doe give and grant unto our Commissioner to and for the use of the said Cæcilius Lord Baltimore the one half or moyetie of all the said Shippes or Vessells Armes Ammunicon and tackle thereunto belonging And alsoe of all the said goods merchandize debts and money which shall be soe taken and seized on either in Virginia or in your voyadge thither or return from thence as aforesaid and also of all other proffitts and other perquisites whatsoever ariseing thereuppon freed and dischardged from all dutyes Taxes and payments whatsoever to us our heyres and Successors or to any of our officers whatsoever And we doe hereby authorize will and require you our Commissioner to dispose of the said Moyetie in such manner as the said Lord Baltimore shall direct you for his use And that you are accomptable to his Executors Administrators or Assignes for the same according to the true intent and meaning of these presents without any Accompt to be given therefore to us our Heyres or Successors our officers or other pson whatsoever And that you give a right and true Accompt to us our heyres and Successors of the other halfe or Moyetie of all the Shippes vessels Armes Ammunicon and tackle thereunto belonging And alsoe of all the said goods Merchandize debts and money which shall be soe taken or seized on as aforesaid and of all proffitts and pquisites whatsoever ariseing thereuppon the residue of which said Moyetie last menconed wee will have reserved for our own use, after you have first deducted and payd out of our sayd moyetie 2.000^{lbs} Sterling in Tobaccoe at the rate of 3^{d} p pound to our sayd R^{t} trusty and well beloved S^{r} William Barkely Knt our sayd Governor of Virginia in full discharge of soe much money due for his salary or pension of 1000^{lbs} p [ann.] allowed unto him by us for his Service of being our Governour there which wee doe hereby authorize will and require you to pay unto him according out of

our sayd Moyetie in case our sayd Moyetie amount to soe much in value And after you have alsoe deducted out of our said Moyetie all Charges which shall be incurred in this your Imployment after your arrivall in Virginia untill your return againe to our Port of Bristoll, And for the transportacon from Virginia into England of such volunteers as you shall entertaine as aforesaid to come and serve us in our warres here; All which wee doe and shall allowe unto you upon your sayd Accompt And wee doe hereby cleerely discharge and acquitt as well you as the said Lord Baltimore and his heyres Executors Administrators & assigns of either of you from all other Accompt concerning the Moyetie abovemenconed to be dispesed of to the sayd Lord Baltimores use as well against us and our heyres as against all our Treasurers receivers Admiralls and officers of Admiralties and all other officers and ministers whatsoever forbidding them and every of them to sue vex molest or in any way trouble you or him the sayd Lord Baltimore or his heyres Executors Administrators or Assignes in any of the Courtes of Justice, or elsewhere concerning the same or any parte thereof: And willing and requiring our Treasurer or under Treasurer of the Exchequer Admirall or Vice Admirall and all others our ministers and officers for the tyme whome it may conserne—That they and every of them doe admitt of these presents of the enrollment thereof as a sufficient discharge of him the said Lord Baltimore And alsoe to you our sayd Commissioner and to his and your and each of your heyres Executors Administrators and assignes respectively in that behalfe And wee for us our heyres and Successors doe hereby covenant and promise to and with you our sayd Commissioner and also to and with the said Lord Baltimore his and your and each of your heyres Executors and Administrators respectively that wee will at all tymes by o^{r} royall authority protect and defend you our sayd Commissioner and alsoe the sayd Lord Baltimore his and your and each of your heyres Executors and Administrators and all other pson and psons imployed by you or either of you from any danger trouble or molestacon which you or he or any of them may incurre by or from any pson or psons whatsoever for or by reason of prosecuting or pforming of all or any of our Commannds in this Commission menconed; And alsoe

that wee our heyres and Successors will and shall att all times by the same royal authority protect and defend the sayd Lord Baltimore and his heyres Ex^rs^ Administrators and Assignes in the quiett enjoying of the Moyetie of all the sayd Shippes goods Armes Ordnance Ammunicon money and Merchandize which shall be soe seized as aforesayd and of all other, proffitts and Perquisites whatsoever arising thereuppon which are by this our Commission granted to you the sayd Commissioner for the use of the sayd Lord Baltimore as aforesaid against all psons or pretender whatsoever And lastly wee doe by these presents strictly charge and require as well our sayd Governor and Councell and Captaines of our fforts and Castles as all other our officers ministers magistrates and loving subjects of Virginia to be ayding and assisting unto you our sayd Commissioner to the uttermost of their power in the due execucon of the premises as in a matter which Concernes the Safety and preservacon of our pson and State here in England as they will answer the Contrary at their & utmost pe^ll^. In witness whereof wee have caused these our letters to be made Pattents; witness our selfe att Oxford this sixe and twenty^h^ day of January in the nineteenth year of our raigne.

Commission of Charles II. to Sir William Davenant, February 16, 1649–50.

From the Calvert Papers.

Charles R.

Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To Our Trusty and well-beloved Sir William Davenant, Knight, and to all others, to whom these presents shall come, greeting: whereas the Lord Baltimore, Proprietary of the Province and Plantations of Maryland in America, doth visibly adhere to the Rebells of England, and admit all kinde of Schismaticks, and Sectaries, and other ill-affected persons, into the said Plantations of Maryland, so that we have cause to apprehend very great prejudice to Our Service thereby, and very great danger to Our Plantations in Virginia, who have carried themselves with so much Loyalty and Fidelity,

to the King Our Father, of blessed memory, and to us; Know yee therefore, That Wee, reposing speciall trust and confidence in the courage, conduct, loyalty, and good affection to us, of you Sir William Davenant, and for prevention of the danger and inconveniences above-mentioned, doe by these presents, nominate, constitute, and appoint you Our Lievtenant Governour of the said Province, or Plantations of Maryland, with all Forts, Castles, Plantations, Ports, and other Strengths thereunto belonging; to have, hold, exercise, and enjoy the said place and command of Our Lievtenant Governour of Maryland, during Our pleasure, with all Rights, Priviledges, Profits, and Allowances any wayes appertaining, or belonging to the same: And although wee intend not hereby to prejudice the right of the Proprietary in the Soyle, but have, for Our Security, thought fit to intrust you, during these troubles, This clause includes Soyle and all. Wee notwithstanding give you full Power and Authority to doe all things in the said Plantations, which shall bee necessary for Our Service, and for securing them in their Loyalty, and Obedience to us, and prevention of all dangers that may arise from thence to Our Loyall Plantations of Virginia: Further, requiring and commanding you to hold due correspondence with Our Trusty and well-beloved Sir William Berkley, Knight, Our Governour of the said Plantations of Virginia, and to comply with him in all things necessary for Our Service, and the mutuall good of both Plantations, requiring and commanding hereby all Officers, and Ministers, and all other Our Subjects whatsoever of the said Plantations of Maryland, to admit and receive you Our said Lievtenant Governour, according to this Our Commission, and to obey and pursue your Order in all things, according to the Authority wee have given you; and likewise requiring and commanding Our Governour and Counsell of Virginia, and likewise all other Our loving Subjects of Virginia, to bee aiding and assisting to you, not onely to the settling and establishing of your Authority, as Our Lievtenant Governour of Maryland, but also in all such helps and assistances, as may be necessary for your preservation there, and for the mutuall good of both Plantations, as aforesaid.

Given at Our Court in Jersey the 16th day of February 1649–50, in the second year of Our reign.

LOG OF THE CHASSEUR.

JOURNAL
OF PRIVATE ARMED BRIG CHASSEUR, THO^{S} BOYLE, COM.
FROM NEW YORK ON A CRUISE.

II.

Monday 30 January 1815

At ½ past Meridian discovered land on our Lee bow. Supposed it to be Martinique. At 1 P. M the North part bore South 8 leagues. The Frigate on our Weather quarter still in chase. At 2 P M the heavy and continual squalls greatly favoring the Frigate, she began to near us, insomuch as to make it necessary for us to heave 10 of our carronades overboard, also some of our Spare spars off the deck and start some of our water below. She still continuing firing her Guns of her Fore Castle, got our 2 long 12^{s} aft. Sawed down the taffrail and gave the guns more Room, and commenced firing at her from our Stern Ports, apparently with some execution. At this time dropping her fast. At 3 P. M made an hermaphrodite Brig on our Starboard bow. At 3.30 she passed our Bows steering SE. and hoisted a Swedish Flag. At 4 P. M North part Marte bore SE 4 miles. At 7 P. M lost sight of the Frigate and haul'd up SSW and after SSE. Daylight, Martinique in sight. At 7 A M North West and E by N distant 10 leagues. At the same time made a sail on our Lee Bow bearing SSW. Coming up with her fast, find her to be a Brig under a press of Sail standing about West. At 11 A M the Chase hoisted Spanish Colours and on our firing a Gun to Leeward hove to and we soon after came up and boarded her

Lat ob 13. 07 North

Tuesday 31st January 1815

Commences fair and pleasant Weather with moderate trade

Winds. Lying to, overhauling the Brig, which proves to be a Spaniard from Cadiz and bound to Laguira. At 2.30 dismissed him and filled away and made sail. At 6 P. M reefed Fore and Main Topsail and Main sail

Midnight, Fresh Breezes and flawy. At 10 A. M the West end of St. Vincents bore E. by N. 6 or 7 leagues distant. Made a Sail on our Weather bow nearly ahead. Made sail in chase

Lat. by ob. 13. 14 North

Wednesday 1st. February 1815.

Commences with Moderate Breezes and fair Weather. In chase of the Sloop to Windward. At 1.30 tacked Ship to the N E. At 3.30 the breeze increasing and we gaining on her fast, she hoisted Swedish Colours and soon after hove to, when we came up and boarded her and found her to be of and for St Barts. from Trinidad in ballast. At 4.20 P. M. discharged her. At the same time discovered two sail on our Weather bow. When we sail upon a Wind in chase of the largest, a Ship steering West, the other a small sloop steering southerly. The SW end of St Vincents SE by E and E 5 leagues. At 7 fired a Gun at the Ship when she took in her studding sails and rounded to. We hoisted a signal which she not answering gave her another Gun, upon which she hoisted a Lantern. We then steered athwart his stern, hailed and ordered him to send his Boat on board, which order he complied with. We also sent an officer on board him to overhaul. She proved to be the Ship *Sarah Maria* Captain Itter of and from Rotterdam for Curaçoa 38 days. Cargo Sundries.

Midnight good breezes and pleasant. At 6 A. M land in sight to windward bearing about East.

Meridian North part of St. Vincents, bore East distant 8 leagues. Ends light winds nearly Calm. Employed in setting up the fore Rigging and other Jobs of Ship's duty

Lat. obn. 13. 17 North

2d Feb. 1815

Commences with light Winds and pleasant Weather. At 5

P M the South part of St. Vincents bore E by N distant 11 leagues.

At 10 A M. tacked to the Northward. Midnight fine Breezes and clear moonlight. Working to Windward and tacking every two hours through the night.

At daylight the Granadillos Islands to windward. At 10 A M being in with the Granadillos made all sail in chase and soon after discovered her to be a Ship standing in a direction towards Granada. At 11 A M made Granada ahead, at the same time made another small sail on our Lee bow Ends pleasant

Friday 3d. Feb. 1815

At 1 P. M could plainly discern the Ship we were in chase of was a Merchantman, apparently English. Called all hands to quarters and got all Clear for Action, and loaded the Guns with round and Grape. At 2 P M drawing close to the Ship and the Land both, fired a Shot ahead and hoisted our Colours. She immediately hoisted English Colours and commenced at us, which we returned. At 2.15 she struck her colours and we ceased firing, having all her sails set studding sails &c. Hailed the Ship and requested the Captain to lay his head to the Southward, he said his men were all run below from fear. I assured him, that if they came on deck not a man of them should be hurt. He called the Men on Deck under the pretence of wearing and put her before the wind for the purpose of running her. We having shot considerably ahead made sail immediately and closed with him, and in about 10 Minutes layed him alongside and boarded him, his Men having all run below. Got her around to Southward and stood from the Land, it being about half a Mile off. The Ship proved to be the *Corunna* of and from London bound to Grenada with Coal as Ballast and some Articles of hardware. She was commanded by Captain Dempster, mounted 8 Guns and 18 Men. Took out all the prisoners and sent Mr. John Powers Prize Master and 11 Men to take her to the United States. Midnight bore up and run West under easy sail. At 8 A M discovered a Ship on the Weather bow, apparently a Ship run away before the wind.

Made sail in chase. Made a Convoy; counted 110 sail, the London Convoy. The Ship we supposed to be the convoy Ship, a Frigate. At 10 A M. The Frigate gave chase to us. Hove about and stood for her. After a little time she hove about and stood for the Convoy. We hove about and stood for the convoy also. Meridian, supposed the Island of Grenada bore East 15 leagues.

Lat. ob. 12. 20 North

Saturday 4th Feb. 1815

Begins with fine Breezes and Smooth Sea. All sail set in chase of the Convoy. The Frigate under easy sail. At 5 P. M close to Convoy and very near the sternmost Vessels. At the time the Frigate set every necessary Sail that she could and gave us chase. Tacked Ship and stood from her. At 7 lost sight of her. Bore up to the Westward and then hauled to the North and westward. Midnight pleasant. At Daylight saw a Ship bearing about SSW and the Convoy about North. At 8 A M close to her. She hoisted English colours and upon our hoisting the American Flag, she struck. Out boat and boarded her. She proved to be the Ship *Adventure* of London, Captain Crocker from London to Havanna with Ballast and Iron Work. She had 4 Guns and 14 Men. Took out the Prisoners and several small Articles and manned her for the United States. At Meridian we parted Company and went in chase of the Convoy, which we understand is bound for Havanna, Jamaica &c.

Sunday 5th Febry 1815

At 5 P. M under the Convoy bearing about N. by W. steering NNW. At Night carrying all sail nescessary, at daylight nothing in sight. At 8 A M made the Convoy again steering more to the Northward. Several Vessels appeared to be detached from the Convoy, steering more to the Northward. Gave chase immediately. At 11 A M could plainly discern six Ships and two Brigs had separated from the Convoy for another destination, one of the Brigs apparently a Man of War. At Meridian gaining

fast on the Convoy, could discover 4 Ships apparently well armed and the two Brigs. They kept close together and made every preparation to engage us.

Ends carrying all necessary Sail in chase.

Lat. ob 14. 53 North

Monday 6th Febry 1815

Commences fine weather and Moderate Winds. At 3 P M drawing close up on the Weather quarter of the Eight Vessels. Got all clear for Action. At ½ past 3 hoisted our colours and gave a Shot at the first Brig. Our Shot was immediately followed by the Stern chasers of the 4 Ships at us. Sheared closer to and kept firing at them endeavouring by several manœuvers to separate them; they however kept in close order firing frequently at us. We still kept dogging them drawing their fire. Discharged several of our Broad Sides at them. They sent many shot thro' the Sails and Shot away the Main top Gallant Mast. At 6 P. M made another trial to Leeward, but finding their keeping close would in fact prevent our doing anything with them, tried again to separate them but to no purpose. Kept close to them in hopes they would Separate. Bore up on them again and received several Shots but could not effect a Separation.

Midnight watch them sharp. Daylight the whole Eight in sight. Dogged them till 8 A. M. A strange sail at this time made its appearance to Leeward. Up in chase. Meridian lost sight of them. The Islands of Porto Rico and Morra in sight. Ends pleasant Breezes &c.

Tuesday 7th Febry 1815

Begins with fine Breezes and pleasant weather. At 3 P. M. Morra bore N E distant 5 leagues. Coming up with the chase which appeared to be a Pilot boat vessell apparently a Privateer. At 4 P. M she hoisted Carthagena Colours. We spoke her and sent the boat on board. She proved to be a Privateer from Carthegena on a cruise. At 6 P M bore up before the wind, the Privateer also.

Midnight squally with rain. At Day light saw the Carthargenian astern, all sail set before the Wind. Ends squally rainy weather and heavy swell from the Eastward.

Lat. by ob. 17. 17 North

Wednesday 8 Febry 1815

Commences fine Breezes and pleasant Weather. Running down before the wind with all sail set. At 4 P. M. made Altwalla Rock nearly ahead; at the same time made Islands Benta and St. Domingo. At 6 P. M Altwalla bore WNW 2 leagues distant.

Middle part squally with Rain. At day light saw the convoy on our Lee beam. Took in Fore top Gallant sail, reefed Fore top sail and hauled by the wind. At 8 saw point Abbaco bearing North 8 leagues dist. At 8 jibed Ship and haul'd on a Wind to N. E.

Meridian all necessary sail set by the wind. Ends pleasant. Employed at sundry jobs of Ship's duty.

Thursday 9th Febry 1815

Commences with light showers of Rain, the convoy in sight to westward. At 3 P. M. jibed Ship. At 6 the Island of St. Domingo to the North and the Convoy in sight to westward. At 8 P M lowered the Main sail down, and set studding sails each side below and aloft.

Midnight fine Breezes. At 3 A. M. shortened sail. At day light made the convoy close to us. Discerned a sail. Made all sail in chase. At 11 A M could discover her to be a Ketch apparently English. At Meridian coming up with the chase fast. She appeared to be Armed. Ends clear and pleasant. Lost sight of the Convoy.

Lat. by obn. 16. 46 North

Friday 10th Febry 1815

At 2 P. M. coming up with the chase, she hoisted English Colours and hauled up his Foresail. We hoisted our colours and

running alongside fired a Volley of Musketry into her, when she struck. She proved to be the Ketch *Martin* from Kingston, Jamaica, and bound to Araba. Took out the Prisoners and some Provisions &c and burnt her.

Middle part Moderate breezes and pleasant. At 7 A. M. made a sail on our weather beam. Made all sail in chase. At 8 A. M. made another sail 3 points afore the weather beam. Latter part fresh Breezes and Squally with smart showers of Rain. Ends in chase of the first sail, a Schooner.

Lat. ob^{n}. 17. 20 North

Saturday 11 Feb^{ry} 1815.

Begins fresh breezes and squally with heavy Sea. At 1.40 P. M. the Chase hoisted Spanish Colors and bore up for us. She was from Kingston Jam^{a}. bound to the City of St. Domingo. Put 4 Prisoners from on board Ketch *Martin* on board of her and made Sail to the Westward in quest of two Sail. At 3 P. M Cape Liberoon bore ENE 11 leagues. At half Past 3 made the sail to leeward again carrying all Sail in Chase. At 7 lost sight of the Chase.

Midnight squally with Rain. At Daylight fill'd away and made Sail. A Sail in Sight on the N. W quarter. Made Sail in Chase and Soon after discovered her to be standing for us when we tacked. At same time saw East End of Jam^{a}. bearing N by W. At 11 A M. made a Small Sail to windward running down before the wind, apparently a small sch^{r} with square Sail set.

Ends fresh breezes and squally with heavy sea and some Rain.

Lat. obs^{n}. 17. 55 North

Sunday Feb^{ry} 12, 1815

Commences fresh breezes and squally. Beating to windward in Sight of Jam^{a}. At 1 P. M brought to the small sail a Sch^{r} under Spanish Colours. Out Boat and boarded her. While overhauling her made another sail to windward running down. At 2 P M discharged the Schooner. The Last Sail, a small schooner also, coming down upon us hoisting Spanish Colours and hove to. Out

Boat and Boarded him. He was from Porto Rico bound to Kingston Jam.ª At 3 discharged him and made sail by the wind. At 4 bore up before the wind to the Westward. At 5 brought to a small Sloop under English Colours from Kingston bound to Turk's Island in Ballast. At 6 P. M discharged her. At same time Morant Point bore SW 5 leagues distance. At daylight saw a large ship bearing NE. Light winds inclining to Calm. Tacked and made sail in Chase. At 9 the Chase, a Ship, hoisted English Colours aft and a signal forward. At this time Arenatta Bay bore South 3 or 4 leagues distance

Lat obs.d 13. 40 North

Monday Feb.ry 13, 1815

At half Past M running up along side the Ship hoisted the Yankey flag, when she struck. Boarded her, and found her to be the *Mary and Susanna*, King, from London for St Anns Jam.ª Cargo sundries, say dry goods and 6 guns and 22 men. Took out the Prisoners, and commenced taking out the Cargo. At 6 P M Aranatta Bay bore South 11 Leagues Distance. Put Mr. Coffin and a prize Crew on board and ordered her to keep Company with us. Steering all night to the West.

Middle part squally with rain. At daylight the Island of Cuba in sight. Light weather. At 8 A M Cape Cruz bore NNW dist 9 leagues. Commenced taking out Cargo from the Prize again and stowing it away in us

Meridian pleasant. Continuing to take out goods from the Prize

Tuesday 14.th February

Begins moderate winds and Cloudy. Laying to taking out goods from the Prize. At 6 P. M Cape Cruz bore North 8 leagues Dist. At 7 fill'd away under Short sail in company with the Prize, standing to the Westward. Midnight squally. Daylight nothing in sight. Began to take out Cargo from the Prize, laying by for that Purpose. At Meridian saw Cape Cruz bearing NE 10 leagues dist. Ends high winds and Cloudy

Lat.d Obs.d 10. 29 North

Wednesday 15th 1815

Begins light winds and squally. Lying by in Company with the Prize.—At 6 P. M. parted Company with the prize, both of us making all necessary sail to the Westward. At 8 A M. made the land on our weather bow and hauled up for it. Found it to be the Cayman Brake and soon after saw the little Cayman Island

At Meridian West end little Cayman bore N. E. 8 Leagues distance. Ends Moderate breezes and pleasant weather. Employ'd at Sundry jobs of Ship's duty

Lat. obsd. 19. 36 North

Thursday 16th 1815

At 3 P. M made 3 Sail bearing S E. Made all sail in Chase. At 4 P. M. came up with and boarded them, 2 Ships under Hamburg Colours and a Brig under Russian Colours, all bound to the Havanna from St. Thomas. At 8 P. M. discharged two of the Vessels, on board of which by permission of the Capt. put 7 Prisoners, officers of Different Prizes. At 11 P. M. discharged the other Ships on board of which (by permission) we put 4 prisoners . . . Midnight moderate breezes and cloudy. At 3 A M wore Ship, head S E. At 6 A M saw the Island of Grand Cayman bearing North distance 4 leagues. At 10 hove to close in shore on the S W side of the Island and sent 3 Boats on shore with 31 Prisoners near Georgetown and Gave them four barrels of Provision. Meridian pleasant. Ends cloudy, lying to near the Land

Friday February 17th 1815

At 1 P. M fill'd away and stood to the Southward under easy sail. At 4 P M SW part of Grand Cayman bore E by S dist 6 leagues

Midnight squally with rain. Daylight nothing in Sight. Moderate wind and Cloudy. Every drawing sail set

Meridian clear and pleasant weather, with moderate trade winds. Carrying all necessary Sail. Employ'd at sundry jobs of Ship's duty

Lattitude obsd 20. 48 North

Saturday 18th Febry 1815

Commences moderate winds with clear and pleasant weather, all necessary sail set. At 6 P M shorten'd sail

At 8 A. M saw 3 sail bearing about NE.

Meridian made the land bearing WNW. Ends light airs of wind from the Eastward. Employ'd scraping and painting the vessel outside and sundry other jobs of Ship's duty.

Latd Obsd 21. 34

Sunday 19th Febry 1815

Begins light winds and sultry weather. All necessary sail set, standing in for the land. At 4 P. M. saw a low point of land bearing WNW at same time could distinguish the three sail in sight to be the same which we boarded on the 16th inst bound to the Hava. At 6 P. M tack'd Ship, Cape Coruntes then bearing S. E dist. 5 miles, and the False Cape WNW 6 leagues. Took in foresail and fore Royal and backed the Topsail. Drifting S. W ½ Knot pr Hour. Daylight nothing in sight. Fill'd away and made sail by the wind to the NW. At 6 A M saw the land bearing NW to ENE. Cape Antonia bearing W b N ½ N. At 10 being close in with the land sent 2 Boats on shore to look out for water. Ends pleasant, lying to for the Boats.

Latde Obsd 21. 50 North

Monday Febry 20th 1815

A few minutes past Meridian made a sail in the SW quarter, when we made a signal for the Boats, which signal being promptly attended to, we were soon after under a press of sail in Chase. Gaining on the Chase find her to be a Schr standing to the SE. At 2 P. M. Cape Antonio bore N. by W ½ W 6 or 7 Leagues dist. At 2.40 the Chase in studg sails &c. and haul'd by the wind. At 3 hoisted Spanish King's Colours and soon after (we being nearly within musket shot) she hove to. She appeared to be a fast sailing pilot boat schooner. Boarded her and found her to be from Campeache for St Iago de Cuba. Cargo Indigo Logwood

&c. Took out 7 Serons of Indigo, which were for English Acct. At 6.30 suffer'd her to proceed.

Midnight Moderate winds and clear weather. Made the land ahead, and tacked to the Southward. Same time backed Main Top Sail. At 4 A. M fill'd away and stretch'd off to the south^{d}. At 5 tack'd again and stood in for the land.

Meridian pleasant weather. Close in with the Cape Antonio. Sent 2 Boats on shore.

Lat^{d} Obs^{d}. 21. 50 North

Tuesday 21st Feb^{ry} 1815

Commences moderate breezes and pleasant weather. Laying off and on the Cape. At 3 P. M. the Boats returned on board bringing a great quantity of excellent Crawfish, some sea Fowl &c. At 5 stood off from the Land. At 6 Cape Anto. bore N by W $\frac{1}{2}$ W 3 leagues dist. At 10 fresh breezes. Shortened Sail. Midnight pleasant, standing off and on Shore alternately thro the night. Daylight nothing in Sight. At 6 A. M. made the land bearing from NE to NW by W. At 7 being close in with Middle Cape jibed Ship and stood down along Shore

At meridian Cape Antonio bore North 4 leagues distance. Ends pleasant weather. Employ'd at Sundry jobs Ship's Duty

Latt^{d} obs^{d}. 21. 46 North

Wednesday 22nd Feb^{ry} 1815

Begins fresh breezes and clear weather. Laying off and on in Sight of Cape Antonio. At half Past 3 p. m breeze freshening on us, and a considerable swell running. Housed the Guns on both sides. At 4 standing to the Southward on the larboard Tack, made a Sail on our weather bow, apparently before the wind, Cape Ant^{o} then bearing NW by N 4 or 5 leagues distance. At 6 took in main Top Sail and took a 2nd Reef in fore T. Sail. Gaining on the Chase make her out a small Felucca Rigged Vessel standing to the Southward. At 7 lost sight of her and tacked to the Northward.

Midnight more moderate. At 1 A M. wore Ship, head SW

and at 4.30 wore to the Northward. At daylight 10 or 12 sail in Sight to the South^{d}. Directly afterwards discovered near one hundred sail. Middle Cape then about NNW dist. 6 or 7 miles. Bore up and run to the NW. At 8 Cape Anto bore S SE 1 mile distance. At 9 hove to head NE. At 10 fill'd away. Ends fresh breezes lying by. Some of Convoy in Sight astern

Lat^{d}. Obs. 22. 19 North

Thursday 23rd. Feb^{ry} 1815

Begins moderate and fair, under short sail standing to the Northw^{d}. About 100 Sail in Sight to the Southw^{d}. At 6 P. M the body of the convoy bore SE by S. No land in sight. A few minutes before 8 tack'd to the NE. At 10 saw the Convoy again. Midnight as before. Daylight all the Convoy in sight standing to the NE. At 8 A M came up nearly within gun shot of the convoy and continued to manoeuvre in such a manner as to be Enabled to reconnoiter them. At 11 A M the commodore's Ship, a 74, gave Chase to us, but finding we beat her with ease, she gave up the chase and tack'd Ship for the Convoy, which bears about ENE in sight from aloft. At the same time leaving a Ship under our Lee, apparently a Sloop of War. Ends pleasant. Employ'd at Sundry Jobs.

Latt^{d}. Obs^{d}. 23. 16 North

Friday 24th February 1815

Commences Moderate Winds and fair Weather, all the convoy in Sight. At 5 P. M tack'd to SW. steering that Course half an hour. At 5.30 tack'd to the N. E. At 11 P. M. Convoy in sight off the Lee quarter. Midnight as before, but no Ships in Sight. Hove the m^{n}. Topsail to the mast. 1 A M bore up and run down half an hour, when we again backed the main Top Sail, and at 2.30 A M. made the Convoy to the westward nearly in our wake. Kept sight of them until 3, when we fill'd away on a wind running ahead of them. At 5 tack'd Ship and stood to the Southward of the Convoy, which appeared close together and no stragglers. At 10 tack'd to the southward, passing close along by the whole Convoy reconnoitering them. At 11 tack'd to the NE.

Meridian all the convoy in Sight on our lee beam. Employ'd at Sundry Jobs of Ship's Duty.

Lattd Obsd 23. 49 North

Saturday 25th February 1815

Commences moderate. Standing to N. E., the Convoy close under our lee. At 3.30 P. M a Ship of War tack'd to the Southward, apparently in Chase of us. Tack'd at same time.

At 4 P. M. the Ship tacking we tack again also. At 5 squally with rain, head reach'd on the Ship very fast. At 8 lost sight of the convoy and made them again at 9.

Midnight as before. At 2.30 A M tack'd to the NE. Daylight the convoy in sight off our Bow. At 7 A. M tack'd to the Southward. At 8 A. M having a regular breeze employed trimming Ship by shifting Guns, men &c. heaving log at same time frequently. At 11 A M a strange Sail in sight to the Southwd Meridian light winds and fair weather. Convoy all in sight. Made the land bearing from SSE to SSW.

Lattd Obsd 23. 33 North

Sunday 26th Febry 1815

At half Past meridn made a Sail nearly ahead, between us and the land; at 2 P. M made a Sail to windward apparently running down with the land; at 2.30 came up with and boarded her, a Spanish Schr from Hava for Matanzas in Ballast. Discharged her in a few minutes and kept away in order to get sight of the convoy again. 3.30 made two sail bearing North. Jibed Ship and hauled up for them. At 4 P. M the Pan of Matanzas bore S SE 6 leagues distance. Between 4 and 5 P. M. brought to and boarded both the above Vessels, a Spanish Sloop and Schooner from Hava bound to windward in ballast. At 6 P. M. bore up. Midnight squally, rain &c. Daylight nothing in Sight. 8 A M made the Land. At 9 brot to and boarded a Span. Schr from Hava to Matanzas in Ballast. At 10.30 made a sail to windward apparently a square Rigg'd Vessel running down with the Land

and soon after another sail farther to Windward. At 11.30 boarded the first sail. Russian Brig, from Havre de Grace (France) for Hav.ª in Ballast. Discharged her in few minutes and made Sail in Chase of the other Sail; a Sch.r, apparently a long Pilot Boat built Vessel, running down before the wind.

Meridian. The chase in studding sails and hauld up a little. Harnea bearing about South, no great dist. off. Ends pleasant etc.

Monday 27.th 1815

At ½ past Mered.n Schooner hauld more to the Northw.d carrying a press of Sail. At this time also she carried away her Fore top mast, but very soon after cut and Cleard away the wreck of it. At ¼ before 1 P. M fired a gun and hoisted the Am.n flag to ascertain if possible the national character of the Chase. He showed no Colours but trimm.d his sails close to the wind. At 1 P. M drawing up to her very fast she fired a Stern Chase Gun at us and hoisted English Colors, shewing only 3 Ports in the side next to us. Under the impression that she was a Runner for the Hav.ª, weakly arm'd and mann'd, used every effort to close with him as quick as possible. Saw but very few men on her deck. Hastily made but small preparation for Action expecting no fighting. The preparation was not complete at 1.25, being within Pistol shot of him, he opened a tier of 10 ports of a side and commenced firing his broadside. We immediately opened our Battery of great guns, and began with the musketry, and endeavoured to close for the purpose of Boarding. Moving quick at the time we shot ahead under her. He put his helm up for the purpose of sheering across our stern and giving us a raking fire, which was prevented by our timely noticing his intentions and put our helm up also. He gathered way, we closed within ten yards of him. At this time both fires were very severe and destructive and we found we had an heavy Enemy to contend with, his men having been concealed under the Bulwarks. Saw the blood run freely from her scuppers. Gave the orders for boarding, which was quick and cheerfully obey'd. At 1.40 put the helm to starboard and endeavored to lay her alongside. In

the act of boarding he surrender'd tho' Mr. Christie got on board him. Out Boat and sent her on board. She proved to be H. B. Majesty's Schr. *St. Lawrence*, Commanded by Lieut. Jas. E. Gordon, formerly the famous Private arm'd Schooner *Atlas* of Phila. mounting fifteen guns, fourteen 12lb Carronades and a long nine. Allowd a complement of 75 men. Had on board a number of marines, and some Navy Gentlemen passengers bound to the Squadron off N. Orleans. By her Commander's report, having 6 men killed and 17 Wounded, many mortally, and by various other reports 15 Killed and 19 Wounded. She was a perfect wreck in her hull, and had scarcely a Sail or Rope standing. We suffered considerably in the Sails and Rigging; had 5 men Kill'd and 7 wounded, four very severely, that will be maim'd for life: their names are Thos. Davis, Aquilla Weaver, Peter ——— and Yankey Sheppard.

Commenced taking out the prisoners and repairing Damages. Sent a Crew on board to assist Mr. Christie in Keeping company with us for the Night. In the course of the night her main Top Mast fell over the side, and at light the Mn. Mast went by the Board. Sent the Boat on board at 9 A M to take a compleat survey of her. In the Course of the forenoon 3 of their wounded men died. Ends moderate. All hands Employ'd at Sundry Jobs. Took out some purser's Slops from the *St. Lawrence*.

Lattd. Obsd. 23. 57 North

Tuesday 28th. Febry 1815

Begins light airs of wind and warm weather. At ½ past M. finding the great trouble and inconvenience of sending the *St. Lawrence* to the U. States, as well as the danger, She being dismasted and otherwise a perfect wreck from the Action, from motives of humanity to their wounded and the solicitation of her officers, I agreed to make her a Flag of Truce to carry the wounded to the Hava. to mitigate the sufferings of their unfortunate situation; the Commander of her pledging his most sacred Parole of Honour, as a British Officer for himself and in behalf of his other Officers, and wounded not to take up Arms against the

U. States, unless regularly exchanged, in the event of their recovering from their wounds. The legality of which, however, was to be left to his Goverment to decide.

At 1 P. M commenced putting on board the wounded we had taken out, and heaving overboard her Guns. At 4 P. M had finished with them and put on board twenty other Prisoners taken from different Vessels, and sent on board some Shirts and two Bales of purser's Slops for the comfort and convenience of the wounded and others. At 6 P M the commander in company with M^{r} Rapp, my officer to whom I had given charge of the flag, went on board. Tho' before leaving the *Chasseur* Lieut James E. Gordon late commander of the *St. Lawrence* express'd to me his gratitude for the generous, kind and humane treatment he and his surviving officers had experienced, acknowledging, that should it ever be our unfortunate lot to be captured during the present war, our treatment would not probably be as Satisfactory as his.

At 8 P. M. we both made Sail. Kept close to him all night. At 9 A M found them Rigging additional Masts on board the *St. Lawrence* to help her progress. People employed at sundry necessary jobs of Ship duty, such as repairing and bending new Sails and repairing the Rigging.

Latt^{d} Obs^{d} 24. 42. North.

Wednesday 1st March 1815

Begins squally. Employed fishing Main Boom which had been wounded by a round Shot in the late action. The Prize in sight in the NW quarter. At 2 P. M lost sight of her. At 4.30 a water spout pass'd very near us to leeward. At 5 a very fresh breeze from the N^{d} and W^{d}. Handed the Main and close reefed the Fore Top Sail, and sent down fore Roy^{l} and main Top. G. yds. Midnight light airs from NW and clear weather. Daylight squally with heavy showers of rain. At 6 A. M. made land to windward bearing ENE. Made sail by the Wind. At 6.30 made a Sail in the wake of the land. At 8 the weather clearing a little out Reefs and made all Sail requisite. 8.30 tack'd to NE. From 10 to 11 A. M Kept our Main Top-sail aback for the Sail

(a Ship) to come down on us, which she appears to be doing. At 11 fill'd away the main topsail and tack'd to S. E. keeping close on a wind. At this time finding the water discolored tried a cast of the lead and struck soundings in fathoms water [*sic*].

Meridian. Another Sail in sight. Ends cloudy. Employ'd as requisite.

Latt^{d}. by an uncertain Obs^{a} 24. 34 North.

Thursday 2 March 1815

Begins Cloudy. Two sail in Sight to the Windward. 1 P. M two more Sail in sight to the Northw^{d}. At 2 P. M tack'd to the SE when one of the Sail an hermaphrodite Brig hauld by the Wind, apparently in chase of us. At 2^{h} 30^{m} the Ship keeping in such Shoal water as to prevent our approaching her, back'd our M^{n}. Top Sail for her to come down to us. At 6^{h} 30^{m} boarded her and found her to be from Cadiz, bound to Hav^{a}. out 74 Days. 6.30 discharged the Ship and fill'd away by the Wind to the N^{d}. and W^{d}. Midnight pleasant weather.

At 1.30 A. M. sounded in 10 fathoms water, and afterward continued to sound occasionally thro' the Night. At daylight found ourselves near the Bemini Isld and haul'd off NW. At 8 made a Sail ahead standing by the Wind to the South^{d}. which we soon discovered to be our prize, the *St. Lawrence.* Came up and boarded her.

Mered^{n}. still in company. The NW part of the Bemini Isld. bore S. E by E dist 4 Leagues

Latt^{d}. Obs^{d}. 25. 46 North

Friday 3rd. March 1815

Commences with fresh breezes and fine weather. At 1 P. M Saw the great Isaacs bearing ENE. At 6 P M. NE saw G. Isaacs bore SE by S 2 leagues.

Midnight Moderate Winds and pleasant. Lying by with the head yards aback.

Daylight nothing in Sight. Meridian light winds and pleasant. Ends lying by. Employ'd as requisite.

Latt^{d}. Obs^{d}. 27. 21 North.

Saturday 4th. March 1815

Commences Moderate Winds and fine Weather. Lying by drifting along the Channel.

At 3 A. M fill'd away the head yards and Back'd the Mn. Top sail.

At 6 A. M. saw a sail on our weather bow, a Brig standing to the Southwd. under a press of Sail. Set all necessary Sail by the Wind in Chase. At 8 A M tack'd Ship; at 9 brought to the Brig, a Russian, from St. Petersburg, via Brook Haven Ireland (where she put into in distress) and bound to Amelia Island. Cargo, Iron &c.

Meridian discharged her. Ends pleasant. Employd at sundry jobs.

Lattd. Obsd. 29. 27 North.

Sunday 5th. March 1815

Begins moderate and fine weather. At 1 P. M. fell in with a spar. Out Boat and towed it along side when we found it to be the Mn Boom of *St Lawrence*—having no occasion for it, left it adrift.

Midnight as before

Daylight nothing in Sight. All this 24 hours under Short Sail, Mn. Top Sail aback, endeavoring to forelay for the Convoy which we supposed to be to the Southwd. of us.

Meridian pleasant. Employd drying Studding Sails &c.

Lattd. Obsd. 29.. 58 North.

Monday 6th. of March 1815

Begins pleasant weather, Lying with Mn Top Sail aback. At 1.30 p. M. tack'd Ship to S. W. making all necessary Sail. At 4.30 made a Sail about 2 points on our weather bow apparently by the wind. At 5 made another Sail 3 or 4 points on the weather bow. At 6.15 lost sight of both sail and tack'd to the SE At 7 Shortened sail. Squally with rain.

Midnight clear weather still under Short Sail.

Daylight nothing in Sight. At 9.40 A. M. Peter died of the wounds which he received in the late Action with the *St. Lawrence.* Meridian fine. Moderate weather. Under Easy Sail. Employed as requisite.

Latt^{d}. Obs^{d}. 30. 00 N.

Tuesday 7th. of March 1815

Begins light Winds and fair weather under easy sail. Midnight as before. Top Sail settled down on the Cap. At 2 P. M took in M^{n}. Top Sail, and let go her F Top Sail and F Top Mast Stay Sail. Daylight moderate Breezes and Cloudy, took 2 Reefs in F. Top sail. At 9 A. M. coming on to blow fresh with rough Sea, hous'd all the guns, and sent down F Royl and M^{n} Top Gal^{t} yd^{s} and hous'd F Royal mast.

Meridian Still Blowing fresh. Under close Reef'd Top Sails and F. Top Mast Stay Sail.

No Observation

Wednesday 8th. March 1815

Commences fresh breezes and Rough Sea. Under Short Sail.

At 3 P. M set Storm Trysail.

At 6 set the Lug fore Sail with a reef in it

At 10 handed the Fore Top Sail

Midnight more Moderate, with increasing Sea. At 1 A. M the Stern Boat striking adrift, cut away the davit falls and let her go. Daylight, weather as above, Nothing in Sight. At 10 A M made a Sail about 4 Point on the weather Bow, which we soon discover'd to be a Brig apparently standing for us. We bore up for about 20 minutes and then hauld by the Wind again. At Meridian Brig in Sight off our Weather quarters. Wore round on the other tack and made Sail in Chase. Ends fresh breezes and squally, with continued heavy swell from the NE

Latt^{d}. Obs^{d}. 30. 31 North.

Thursday 9th. March 1815

Commences fresh breezes and cloudy with Rough Sea. The Chase in Sight on our weather Bow, we gaining on her.

At 6.30 coming dark and squally lost sight of the Chase. Midnight More Moderate weather, smoother Sea. Made more Sail. Daylight nothing in sight. Still cloudy but Moderate weather.

Meridian light winds and hazy Weather. All sail Necessary set. People employ'd at sundry and Necessary Jobs

Latt^{d}. Obs^{d}. 32. 5 North

Friday 10th. March 1815

Commences light Winds and hazy Weather. All necessary Sail set.

Midnight light airs of Wind from the Northw^{d}. and Westw^{d}. At 2 A M a good breeze springing up, tack'd Ship's head to the NE. In F Top Gallant Sail and flying Jib

Meridian light winds and pleasant Weather employed as requisite.

Latt^{d}. Obs^{d}. 33. 30 North

Saturday 11th. March 1815

Commences light winds and hazey weather. At 6 p. M Nearly calm. At 8 haul'd up the square foresail and lowered down the M^{n}. Sail. Middle and Latter part calm, with hazy weather

Meridian as above. Employ'd repairing Sails and Sundry other Jobs

Latt^{d}. Obs^{d}. 33. 35 N.

Sunday 12th. March 1815

Commences light airs from the Southw^{d}. and hazy weather. All necessary Sail Set.

Midnight Moderate breezes and cloudy. At 2 A M brisk Gales and clear weather. At 4 Took a Reef in the Main Top Sail.

Daylight nothing in Sight. Warm and hazy weather. Meridian light winds, and ditto weather.

Latt^{d}. Obs^{d}. 35.. 55 North

Monday 13th March 1815

Commences light winds, and warm hazy Weather. Water heat by Thermometer 76°.

Daylight, winds light and foggy. Water apparently discoloured and colder than the air by more than one Degree pr Thermometer, from whence we Judge ourselves on the Edge of Soundings. At 4 A. M. the Thermometer fell to 70° in the Water. At half past 4 the Therm^{r} in the Water fell to 60°.

Latt^{d}. Obs^{d}. 37. 42 North

Tuesday 14th March 1815

Commences with Moderate breezes and hazy weather. All Sail Set. At 2 P. M the breeze freshening, took in fore Top Mast and Top Galt Studding sail. At 2.30 Reef'd Main Top Sail. At Midnight took in Sail. Tried for Soundings; got no Bottom. At 1 A M handed the M^{n} Top Sail and sent down M^{n} Top Galt yard. Blowing very fresh and squally. At 2 handed square fore Sail and took the 3rd Reef in the M^{n} Sail. At 3 handed Fore Top Sail. At 4 sent down the M^{n} Yard and Rigg'd in Flying Jib Boom. Daylight more moderate, with heavy Swell. At 10 made 2 Sail to leeward and 1 to windward. Made more Sail. At 10.30 made another Sail on our lee bow; all apparently Square Rigg'd Vessels. A Brig and Ship in Sight to Leeward. And an Hermaphrodite Brig on our weather quarter apparently in Chase of us. Ends light Winds and rough Sea.

Latt^{d}. Obs^{d}. 39. 0″6 North

Wednesday 15th March 1815

Begins light winds and Smooth Sea.

At 1 P. M shortened Sail and hove to for the Brig to windward (a clump Merchantman) to come down to us. At 2 P. M. boarded the Brig, she proved to be the *Eliza Ross* 2 Days out from Boston for Richmond. She informed us of a peace having been Signed by the President on the 17 Ult. At 2.30 up helm and made all Sail for the Chesapeake. At 4 Saw a Sail bearing SE of us. At 6 pass'd close by a Brig on the other Tack standing to the SE.

Midnight fresh breezes shortened Sail as occasion required. Daylight still blowing fresh under reef'd Sails At 8 A M got Soundings in 65 fathoms fine grey sand. Meridian More Moderate Weather but still blowing fresh and cloudy. People employed as required.

Latt^{d}. Obs^{d}. 38. 25″ North

Thursday 16th. March 1815

Begins Moderate breezes and cloudy. All Necessary Sail set. At 4 P. M tack'd Ship to the S. W. At 6 saw a Sail ahead. Nearly Calm. At 8 saw a light bearing WNW. Same time sounded in 20 fathoms water. Midnight moderate winds and clear weather sounding frequently in 18 Fathoms Water.

At 3 the breeze scanting, Shook the reefs out of the Main Top Sail. Daylight set lower Top mast and Top Gal^{t}. Studding Sails. sent the M^{n} Top Gal^{t} yard up and set the sail. Several small Vessels in sight in dif^{t} quarters. Wind very light At 11 boarded a sloop from Fredericksburg for N York. Got some newspapers from him. In 14 faths Water

Latt^{d} Obs^{d}. 37. 23″ North

Friday 17th. of March 1815

Commences light winds and fair weather ; several Sail in Sight. At 1 P. M saw bearing about NW. [*sic*]. At 4 scaled off the guns. At 7 made Cape Henry Light House about 2 points on the lee bow. At 9 being in 8 fathoms Water bore up for the light and fired a Gun as a Signal for a pilot, after which we hoisted a light, and fired several Guns at intervals.

At 11 made Old Point Comfort light bearing NW. Midnight Moderate breezes and clear. At 2 A M Anchored in 6 fath^{s} water, near the Wolf Trap. Daylight fresh breezes and cloudy. No pilot Boat in Sight. At 6 hove up the Anchor and made all Sail up the Bay. Latter part fresh Breezes with Rain. Made and Shortened Sail as requisite

Meridian light winds abreast of Point Lookout

Custom House Baltimore
Con^{ts} Off^{s} April 20. 1816

We John Dieter first Lieu^{t} of the Brig *Chasseur* and H. P. Cathell Prizemaster of the same vessel, on the cruise of which the preceding journal purports to be account of the proceedings with and on board said Brigantine, do solemnly sincerely and truly swear that the statement under the dates of the twenty seventh and twenty eighth February 1815 recounting the transactions on board and particulars of an engagement with his Brittannic Majesty's schooner *St. Lawrence* and the immediate subsequent proceedings respecting the captured vessel, her officers, crew and passengers, is a just and true report of the same as all actually occurred, to our knowledge and belief. The same being in the handwriting of Cap^{t} Thomas Boyle Commander of the s^{d} brig *Chasseur*, known to the said John Dieter: and that Cap^{t} Boyle is now absent on a Voyage at Sea.

JOHN DIETER
H P. CATHELL

Sworn
Ja^{s} U. McCulloch
Coll^{r}

THE CHEVALIER D'ANNEMOURS.

The greater part of the following biographical sketch is taken from a "Notice sur le Chevalier Charles François Adrien Le Paulmier d'Annemours, Consul Général de France à Baltimore," furnished by the French Embassy at Washington, to Mr. William Peynaud, for the Maryland Historical Society in the year 1896.

The information in this "Notice" is derived from documents on file in the Department of Foreign Affairs in Paris, and the rest of this sketch is derived from newspapers of the time during which M. d'Annemours was in Baltimore, Journals of Congress, and the Autobiography of Charles Biddle.

Charles François Adrien Le Paulmier d'Annemours was born in Normandy about 1742. His father was a noble, but poor, and when Charles reached the age of twelve years, he was sent off, on a merchant ship bound to Martinique, with a venture valued at 600 francs for his whole fortune.

It would seem that he succeeded fairly well in making his way in the world, for in about ten years he returned to France and went to see his family in Normandy; but he was not well received by them, or at least not well enough to induce him to stay long with them, for he went to England and spent two years in studying the English language, which he learned to speak and write fluently and correctly.

He returned to the West Indies in the year 1768, and during the next four years lived part of the time in the English Colonies, where he had many friends among the most influential inhabitants. The years 1772–3 he passed in the Colonies of England in North America, and in that time became well acquainted with their condition, and the ideas and feelings of the inhabitants.

In 1774 he returned to France, and this time, as will be seen, he was well received by some of his family, if not by all.

He was now about thirty-three years old, a man of ability, a

shrewd observer, and well qualified to speak about the causes of the trouble which was brewing between England and her Colonies.

As is well known, the Government of France was much interested in the state of affairs on this Continent, and was quite willing to see England embarrassed by a struggle with her American Colonies.

In 1776, a relative of M. d'Annemours, the Chevalier de la Luzerne, afterwards Minister to the United States, spoke to M. Vergennes, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, of the knowledge of the Colonies possessed by M. d'Annemours, and of the assistance he would be to M. Vergennes in acquiring a proper view of the condition of affairs in America. M. de Vergennes requested that M. d'Annemours should draw up a memorandum on the American question and submit the same to him.

It is supposed that this memoir is the one in Memoirs and Documents, United States, entitled "Memoir on the English Colonies, by the Chevalier d'Annemours." It was written in 1776 and in it M. d'Annemours set forth the resources of the Colonies, predicted "the interesting part they were destined to play in the world," pointed out the advantage that France had in sustaining the Revolution, and set forth the practical methods of conducting the war.

It would seem that at this time the Minister of Foreign Affairs had no intention of sending an envoy to Philadelphia, and only wanted to gain all the information possible in regard to the position and prospects of the Colonies, but M. d'Annemours wished to be sent out to the Colonies in some way as an agent of the French Government.

In October, the Chevalier de la Luzerne sent to M. Vergennes a new minute of d'Annemours entitled "An examination of some reasons which should determine France to make an alliance with the new American Republic," and said "I should be very glad if you could judge for yourself of his capacity and of the correctness of his views," and at the end of the letter "If you should find the minute which I sent you was important and required any fuller explanations, it would be a great pleasure to him to give them to you. He is absolutely ignorant that you have read his writings."

The decision of the Minister is shown by a memorandum at the bottom of a new memoir presented a little later to M. Vergennes, entitled "The scheme of conduct which the Chevalier d'Annemours proposes for himself during his sojourn in Philadelphia."

In it he asks to be sent to Philadelphia where he would present himself as a French officer travelling through the country attracted by the spectacle of the Revolution. He offered to keep the Government informed as to the inclinations of the Americans towards the European Powers, France especially, as to the secret representation of the European Governments near the American Government, on military operations, and on the general situation of the country. But he asked, as he had no resources except a sum of 4,000 livres which M. de la Luzerne was to send him from some unknown source, that the Minister would advance him some assistance. On the margin of this memoir is written, "The King not giving mission or commission to the Chevalier d'Annemours, his Minister cannot in any way take cognizance of the proposed journey except to oppose or forbid it."

Before the end of the year the Minister began to think differently of the matter, and sent for M. d'Annemours that he might learn more of his ideas and of his capacity for the position of Envoy.

According to M. d'Annemours a proposition was made to him that he should go to America as a secret agent of the French Government. At first he refused, but finally agreed to depart on his mission on condition that he should be permitted to take into his confidence General Washington and such members of the Congress as he should judge worthy to be intrusted with his secret.

He arrived at Boston in the beginning of the year 1777, whence he went at once to the headquarters of the American Army in order to confide his mission to General Washington. Later he confided it to Richard Henry Lee, then a member of the Congress from Virginia.

He then went to join the Congress at Philadelphia, and followed it in 1777 and 1778 wherever the movements of the armies forced it to go.

During this time he kept up a correspondence with the Ministry,

and endeavored to enlighten the French cabinet on the situation, in order to prevent any Anglo-American alliance.

"There is no choice," he wrote. "It is a question of consent or opposition to allowing England to put barriers and shackles on the commerce of Europe in all the seas of the globe; and of this be sure, that her reunion with her colonies on this continent will assure the success of an undertaking that her ambition keeping pace with her avarice cannot fail to suggest."

He had the satisfaction of seeing his views adopted by his Government, and in February, 1778, a "treaty of alliance was concluded between his Most Christian Majesty the King of France and the United States of America."

M. Gérard was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary by the French Government and brought with him authority to appoint provisional consuls to reside in the Colonies.

The number of French vessels which arrived at the port of Baltimore made it important that a Consular Agent should be established there, and accordingly that port was chosen as the place of residence of one of the first French consuls in the Colonies.

M. Gérard chose the Chevalier d'Annemours for this position, and in writing to the Minister of Marine (1st October, 1778) he said: "He (d'Annemours) is a man of ability, well informed, understands perfectly the English language, and has gained the esteem of very many of the most influential persons in this country. I venture to hope that his correspondence with you will convince you of the propriety of this choice."

The jurisdiction of this Consulate was shortly afterwards extended over Virginia and North Carolina in addition to Maryland, and in October, 1779, M. d'Annemours was appointed Consul General at Baltimore for the two Carolinas, Virginia, Maryland and Georgia. In writing to M. d'Annemours the Minister of Marine says: "The knowledge of the country which you have acquired, the proofs of zeal which you have given, and the good conduct which you have held during your residence in America, have determined his Majesty to make choice of you for this position."

In December, 1782, the Chevalier d'Annemours married Miss

Julia de Recour, from the West Indies. Of her Capt. Biddle says in his memoirs: "I had as passengers in the *St. Patrick* from Cape François two French ladies, mother and daughter, the mother a swarthy dame of about 40, and the daughter, a sprightly brown girl of 16, who came to join some relations in Baltimore. Soon after their arrival the daughter had the good fortune to attract the notice of the French Consul, who married her a few weeks later. She was a lively girl, who, when it was cold, would put on any of my clothes, dance on the quarter deck in them and perform some other monkey tricks which I suppose she thought there was no impropriety in."

The sprightly young girl, who became Madame d'Annemours, appears no more in this sketch, and when or where she died we know not, although we have good reason to believe that she was not living in 1792.

In 1784 the French Government changed its consular establishment in the United States, and ordered that for the future there should be one Consul General residing in Philadelphia, four consuls in different ports and five vice-consuls.

The Chevelier d'Annemours was continued as Consul at Baltimore, with jurisdiction over Maryland and Virginia, and having a Vice-Consul at Richmond.

When the French Revolution broke out, d'Annemours took the oath required by the French Assembly, and remained quietly at his post, until January, 1793, when M. Genet was sent out by the French Republic, charged with the direction of all the consular affairs in the United States, and among others, he suppressed the Consulate at Baltimore. Thus after fourteen years' service M. d'Annemours was left without any position or hope of preferment from France. He did not return to France. There was little to attract him in a country which he had left so young and seen so little of since his departure, even had it been the France which he knew in his youth.

He retired to his country seat, on the Harford Road, and there lived for some years quietly and peacefully, one of the pepole among whom he had so long lived, whose manners and customs were familiar to him, whose language he spoke and wrote with

ease, and where he was the object of neither observation nor jealousy.

It was here that he built the monument to the memory of Christopher Columbus, which can be seen from North Avenue near the Harford Road, and which is well cared for by the authorities of the Samuel Ready Orphan Asylum, the present owner of the ground on which the monument is built.

"The Corner Stone of an obelisk to honour the memory of that immortal man—Christopher Columbus—was laid in a grove in one of the gardens of a villa (Belmont, the country seat of the Chevalier d'Annemours near this town) on the 3rd of August, 1792, the anniversary of the sailing of Columbus from Spain," says a letter from Baltimore to Claypole's *Daily Advertiser*, a paper published in Philadelphia.

He left Baltimore about 1796, as in March of that year he sold his country seat in Baltimore county to Archibald Campbell.

The latter part of his life was spent in New Orleans, where he made a will in April, 1807, bequeathing his estate, which was quite large, to Madame Pitot, the wife of a Judge in New Orleans.

In 1821, a suit was begun (in France) between the Pitot heirs and a brother of the Chevalier d'Annemours, his legal heir—Denis Hector Le Paulmier d'Annemours—concerning property in France, owned at the time of his death by the Chevalier.

The exact date of his death is not known; but it was probably in 1809, as the records of the District Court of New Orleans (*Wills*, Vol. I) show that the succession was opened in that year.

STRATEGY OF THE SHARPSBURG CAMPAIGN.

The military situation in Virginia on Sept. 2, 1862, excited the gravest apprehension in the North, while it brought exultation not unmixed with perplexity to the Confederates.

The consolidation of the three Federal corps in North Virginia under Pope and his advance against Richmond had ended in disaster far more speedy and serious than that which had befallen McClellan earlier in the summer. Pope had been forced from the Rappahannock, and though the Federal commander-in-chief had succeeded in hurrying up a part of McClellan's and Burnside's forces to his assistance, this had not been sufficient to prevent the overthrow of Pope at Manassas in the last days of August. Early in that month the two great Federal armies in Virginia had numbered 150,000[1] men. Fully the half of these, or about 80,000,[2] had been concentrated under Pope and had suffered defeat at Manassas. Some 20,000 to 25,000 more under Sumner and Franklin had reached Centreville on the evening of Aug. 30, and afforded a rallying point for the defeated army. This strong body of veterans gave consistency to Pope's crumbling forces. Their presence, together with the bold handling of Reno's and Kearney's troops at Ox Hill, Sept. 1, by which Lee's last thrust was parried, saved the Federal army from further loss and secured its retreat within the lines of Washington.

Though it thus appears that but half the Union troops in Virginia had been involved in Pope's defeat, the other half which had hurried from the Peninsula and other points to Washington was

[1] McClellan's returns for July 20 show that he had over 100,000 men "Present for duty." See *Report on the Conduct of the War*, part I, p. 344. Pope's return for July 31 shows over 50,000 men, present for duty. See *War Records*, Vol. 12, part 3, p. 523. See also Vol. II, *Papers of the Massachusetts Military Historical Society.*

[2] See Pope's *Army under Pope*, appendix E.

not in first-rate condition. Many had come from an unsuccessful campaign; they were being transferred from a general they loved to one they distrusted; they had been so hurried that in many cases they had outstripped their baggage and supply wagons and even their artillery. They had reached the Potomac to find the air filled with rumors of disaster, rumors which every hour converted into authentic statements. When the crowd of hungry and exhausted fugitives which soon lined the Potomac left no doubt as to Pope's fate, and interspersed their accounts of his campaign with curses loud and deep at that picturesque commander, no wonder that the soldiers of the Army of the Potomac were ready to despair, and that a feeling near akin to dismay pervaded the city of Washington. Unacquainted with the real slenderness of the Confederate resources, the danger seemed most grave, and all thoughts were turned to the salvation of the capital from the victorious forces of Lee. McClellan was restored to command, and charged to protect the city. His appearance at the head of the army did much to restore confidence, and he promptly set to work to place the abundant resources of the Federal government in a condition for use. From the 150,000 men now in and about Washington Secretary Stanton directed him to organize an army for active operations. McClellan's first object was to post his troops so as to secure the capital from attack, his next must depend upon the movements of his adversary. Such was the condition of affairs on the Union side.

Let us return to the other side, remembering that Lee was in the midst of that series of operations which taken together constitute his campaign of 1862. To the Confederates their very successes were to some extent embarrassing. The design of Lee in transferring his army from the James to the Rappahannock had been accomplished. Pope had been brought to battle and beaten before McClellan's main body could join him. Sanguine expectation could hardly have pictured greater success than had crowned the bold operations of Lee, Jackson and Longstreet; but with the retreat of Pope to the lines of Washington the campaign against him was ended, and what to do next, became the pressing question. Lee had entered upon the movement against Pope with

about 50,000[1] men, leaving some 20,000 about Richmond. The greater part of the latter had been ordered up during the campaign but they did not join Lee till Sept. 2. They fully made up for his losses in battle, but it is questionable whether they covered the additional losses from sickness and straggling which insufficient rations, bare feet and hard marching were already causing in his ranks. But what was Lee at the head of 80,000 victorious but ill-appointed soldiers and with no gun heavier than a 20 pounder Parrott to do? Plainly he was in no condition to move upon Washington where a line of heavy works armed with heavy guns and manned by three times his numbers awaited him. Nor was it easy to stay where he was, for the country around Centreville was exhausted of supplies, and but one railroad, and that badly damaged, led to his rear. A more serious objection to remaining at Centreville was that it meant inaction while his adversary recovered from the staggering blow just received and prepared without molestation another campaign against Richmond. In a few weeks, if Lee remained idle, a new Federal advance would certainly be organized, and whether made by way of the Rappahannock or of the lower rivers would force the Confederates back again to recover their capital. Still stronger seemed to Lee the reasons against falling back at once to the line of the Rappahannock. This was to throw away a great part of the results of the recent victory, give up a large section of North Virginia with its partly gathered harvests again to hostile occupation. None of these courses was possible to a general who, though too weak to attack such a place as Washington, was at the head of a successful army which his enemies had been unable to match in the open field. Lee's victories in the field had greatly depressed his enemies and had restored a great part of Virginia to his possession, and it was plainly his policy to compel the Federal army to further battle. As he was greatly outnumbered, he must divide his adversaries; he must keep up and increase, if possible, their apprehensions for the safety of Washington and thus detain a part of the Union

[1] See Col. W. H. Taylor's *Four Years with General Lee*, page 61. Also see *Historical Papers*, Vol. 8, pp. 178, 217.

army in the defensive lines of that city while he drew the other part away and fought it at a distance from supports and strongholds. The great object of all Confederate campaigns was, of course, not to capture cities but to cripple the opposing army. Every consideration, too, urged promptness of action in the present case. Whatever was to be done should be done while the Union army was still suffering from the blow it had received. In a few weeks the defeated army would be on its feet again and the resources of the Federal government would enable it to resume the offensive.

The best and most direct way of effecting the object now to be sought was to cross the Potomac and advance into Maryland. Lee could thus turn the more formidable of the defenses of Washington and threaten that city from its most vulnerable side. He would at the same time excite fears about the safety of Baltimore and Maryland, ill-affected as they were to the Union cause; and alarm Pennsylvania. No other course promised to hamper the Federal army so seriously. Large garrisons would be kept to secure the safety of Washington, Baltimore, and other important places, while public sentiment would demand that the remainder be promptly led against the invaders. Lee could then, probably choose his battle-field and fight when and where he thought best. The relief of Virginia for a time from military occupation, and the support of the Confederate army in a region not yet drained of supplies, were additional inducements of no slight importance. General Lee thus speaks of his proposed expedition into Maryland in his letter to Mr. Davis of Sept. 3: "The two grand armies of the United States that have been operating in Virginia, though now united, are much weakened and demoralized. Their new levies, of which I understood 60,000 men have already been posted in Washington are not yet organized, and will take some time to prepare for the field. If it is ever desired to give material aid to Maryland and afford her an opportunity of throwing off the oppression to which she is now subject, this would seem the most favorable.

"After the enemy had disappeared from the vicinity of Fairfax C. H. and taken the road to Alexandria and Washington I did

not think it would be advantageous to follow him farther. I had no intention of attacking him in his fortifications, and am not prepared to invest them. I therefore determined—if found practicable—to cross into Maryland. The purpose, if discovered, will have the effect of carrying the enemy north of the Potomac, and if prevented will not result in much evil.

"The army is not properly equipped for an invasion of an enemy's territory. It lacks much of the material of war, is feeble in transportation, the animals being much reduced, and the men are poorly provided with clothes, and in thousands of instances are destitute of shoes. Still we cannot afford to be idle, and though weaker than our opponents in men and military equipments, must endeavor to harass if we cannot destroy them. I am aware that the movement is attended with much risk, yet I do not consider success impossible, and I shall endeavor to guard it from loss."[1]

The Confederate commander proceeded to execute his plans without loss of time. But one day's rest was allowed the tired troops, when the army was headed toward Leesburg, where it crossed and moved to Frederick city. D. H. Hill, who had just arrived from Richmond, led the way, Jackson followed, and Longstreet brought up the rear. Lee chose his crossing of the Potomac east of the Blue Ridge rather than west of it, because he would thus most distinctly threaten Washington and Baltimore, and hence the more certainly cause the withdrawal of the Federal army to the north side of the river, and the subtraction of large garrisons from it. This strategy was successful. By Sept. 7, the Confederate army was concentrated about Frederick and the mass of the Federal army was on the north bank of the Potomac. Lee's aggressive move threw the Federals completely on the defensive and occupied them entirely with the protection of the northern States and cities. His vigorous movements led to a greatly exaggerated estimate of his strength, and the uncertainty as to his objective point spread great alarm throughout Pennsylvania extending to Philadelphia. Governor Curtin, in addition to earnest appeals to the general government for aid, called out 50,000 State

[1] *War Records*, vol. 19, part 2, p. 590.

troops. To realize the success of Lee's strategy, glance for a moment at McClellan's dispositions to meet Lee's operations. On the second day after assuming command McClellan began to move his main body to the north side of the Potomac to meet the threatened invasion. He placed over 70,000[1] men under General Banks in and about Washington to defend the capital. General Wool with 10,000 or 12,000[2] more held Baltimore and the vicinity. After these large detachments, McClellan was still able to gather 85,000[3] men with which he set forward towards Frederick to check the invader. Besides the Federal troops we have enumerated there was a body of 14,000[4] at Harper's Ferry and Martinsburg concerned in this campaign. Now the problem before Lee was how best to deal with this large aggregate of hostile forces. By simply transferring his troops into Maryland he paralysed the one half of his opponents and reduced them to the condition of garrisons. There was left on his hands for the the time only the army under McClellan and the troops at Harper's Ferry.

For some days comparative quiet reigned. The Confederates, who had left behind at Leesburg their broken down men, horses and artillery, enjoyed much the two or three days of rest and the supplies which were obtained about Frederick, while General McClellan was rapidly reorganizing the forces with which he expected to attack the invaders. The Union Army moved out from Washington on Sept. 7, and by the 10th the Federal army stretched from the Potomac at Poolesville, across to New Market, covering thus both Washington and Baltimore. McClellan was inclined to move cautiously, and this tendency was increased by the apprehension of General Halleck, that Lee's irruption into Maryland was intended to cover a real movement against Washington on the south side of the Potomac. Such was the condition

[1] *War Records*, vol. 19, part 2, p. 336.

[2] *War Records*, vol. 19, part 2, p. 337.

[3] General Palfrey's *Antietam and Fredericksburg*, p. 7.

[4] The casualties of the Federal forces, at Harper's Ferry were 12,737 (*War Records*, vol. 19, part 1, p. 549), and the cavalry that escaped under Colonel Davis numbered about 1300.

of things on Sept. 10th, when General Lee began his movements for the reduction of Harper's Ferry.

When the Confederates crossed the Potomac they had expected that the garrison at Harper's Ferry and the troops which had fallen back from Winchester would retreat into Pennsylvania and rejoin the main body of the Federal forces around the left of the Confederate army. But General Halleck insisted that the garrison of Harper's Ferry should hold their post, and that the Winchester garrison should join them. As these troops amounted to but 13,000 or 14,000 in all, and Harper's Ferry was not provided for a siege, it is difficult to see what object the Commander-in-chief proposed to himself, but, whatever the object, this action on his part led to unforeseen and most important consequences. When Lee found after several days' stay in Maryland, that the troops at Harper's Ferry still held their position, he determined, while awaiting the slow advance of McClellan's army, to attempt the capture of the garrison and the considerable amount of ordnance stores which were known to be there. The means taken to secure the prompt and certain success of this enterprise were comprehensive, and involved the use of two-thirds of the Confederate army. Jackson, with 14 brigades, was directed by a rapid march to recross the Potomac at Williamsport, where after cutting off the retreat of the troops of Martinsburg, he was to drive these latter if possible to Harper's Ferry and occupy the region between the Potomac and the Shenandoah so as to prevent the escape of the garrison in that direction. The divisions of Anderson and McLaws (10 brigades) under the latter were ordered to move by way of Pleasant Valley upon Maryland Heights, the high mountain which from the Maryland side of the Potomac commands Harper's Ferry and everything else in the neighborhood and which was known to be fortified. General J. G. Walker with two brigades was to ascend the Potomac on the south side from the mouth of the Monocacy and occupy what are called the Loudoun Heights. McLaws was to prevent the escape of the garrison into Maryland and Walker to prevent it from making its way down the Potomac on the Virginia side. These troops once in position, the garrison would be completely hemmed in, and Harper's Ferry would be

untenable even had it been provisioned, for the mountain heights to be held by McLaws and Walker completely commanded the town and its environs. Lee expected McLaws and Walker to be in position by Friday the 12th, and Jackson by the 13th, and the reduction of the place, it was thought, would speedily follow. As soon as Harper's Ferry fell the troops engaged in these operations were to rejoin the remainder of the Confederate army in the neighborhood of Hagerstown. Lee retained the divisions of D. H. Hill and Longstreet (14 brigades) with the mass of his cavalry to watch the progress of McClellan and delay his advance until the reduction of Harper's Ferry should be effected. There was nothing in the movements of McClellan to cause the Confederate commander to apprehend any serious interference with his plans. The Federal Army was advancing very slowly. It was not Lee's desire to give battle in the vicinity of Frederick nor at the South mountain passes. On the contrary he sought to draw McClellan beyond the mountains and to fight in the Hagerstown Valley where the Union army would be further from the large forces in reserve at Washington. It would be some days before McClellan would know of the movements against Harper's Ferry and when these became evident they would be too near completion to be interfered with. The exposed condition of the garrison there seemed to offer an opportunity of striking a damaging blow at little cost and Lee determined to seize it.

The capture of Harper's Ferry consumed a day or two more than was expected. The swift-footed Jackson, to whom was committed the most difficult part of the enterprise and the general direction of affairs when all the bodies should be in position, made his circuit of 50 miles in the time assigned, having driven General White into Harper's Ferry and cooped up the garrison from the direction of the Shenandoah Valley by the evening of the 13th. Walker, however, did not occupy Loudoun heights until the morning of the 14th instead of the 12th. McLaws was delayed by the rugged country and by the resistance made by the Federal troops left to defend Maryland heights. He drove them down into the town on the 13th but did not succeed in getting his guns into position until the afternoon of the 14th. All being now ready Jack-

son pushed his batteries and a portion of his troops against the lines of his enemy during the night of the 14th, and prepared on the morning of the 15th to assault the Federal position, in conjunction with the Confederate batteries on the mountain tops. His attack was anticipated by the surrender of the place at 8 o'clock on the morning of the 15th. The captures comprised 12,500 prisoners, 73 guns, and a considerable amount of stores. All the garrison was captured except some 1300 cavalry under Colonel Davis. They had escaped during the night by a road at the base of the Maryland heights on the north side of the river, which McLaws had omitted to guard.

Let us turn back now to the important events which had taken place while these operations were in progress. On Sept. 13th occurred one of those accidents which now and then give an entirely unforeseen turn to military operations. The copy of General Lee's order (No. 191) addressed to General D. H. Hill, which detailed fully the movements of every division of the Confederate army during the operations about Harper's Ferry and the subsequent concentration near Hagerstown, had been lost in some way which has never been explained and was picked up and carried to McClellan, who by this time had reached Frederick. He rejoiced at the information which removed all doubts as to the designs of his enemy, and the movements of the Confederate army for days to come, and gave orders at once for a vigorous advance of his own forces. McClellan's aim was now two-fold: to relieve Harper's Ferry by breaking through and destroying that part of the line of investment under McLaws, while at the same time he intended to overwhelm the divisions under D. H. Hill and Longstreet which had been retained to confront him. The opportunity was a rare one. The Confederate army as a whole was much less numerous than the Federal troops (though McClellan would never believe it), but it was a veteran army, flushed with victory, and even with a reasonable estimate of its strength McClellan might well have hesitated to attack it when concentrated, with troops that had been so recently defeated. But Lee had now divided his army. Sixteen brigades out of forty were on the south side of the Potomac, which meant that they were two or three days

distant; ten others were among the mountains on the Maryland side where they could be hemmed in between the garrison at Harper's Ferry and McClellan's army; but fourteen brigades numbering some 12,000 to 15,000 men, and Stuart's cavalry, were in McClellan's front ready to dispute his advance. The immense advantage which the finding of Lee's dispatch gave to McClellan is seen at a glance when we compare his knowledge of the situation, and his course after getting it, with the cautious and vague directions he was at the same time receiving from his Commander-in-chief. When Halleck found that large bodies of Confederates were recrossing the Potomac into Virginia he took this as a confirmation of his fears of a sudden dash of Lee down the right bank of the Potomac against Washington and renewed his cautions on this head. McClellan knew now that there was no such danger to be apprehended. He knew that two-thirds of the Confederate army was actively engaged in the reduction of Harper's Ferry, and he knew that after this was accomplished, Lee intended to concentrate his troops around Hagerstown. It seemed to McClellan then, and it does seem now that Lee was in a position of great difficulty and danger when 80,000 troops could in a few hours be hurled against his divided forces.

Let us before tracing the subsequent events stop a moment longer to mark out clearly the difference in McClellan's situation before and after finding the lost order, for this was the very turning point of the campaign. Before getting the order McClellan was uncertain whether Lee's object was Washington, Baltimore, or Pennsylvania. On the one hand Halleck was cautioning him not to uncover the capital even to an attack from the south side of the Potomac, while on the other the Governor of Pennsylvania was urging that his whole army be transferred to that State to save its cities from the invader.[1] There is no reason to suppose that but for the lost order, McClellan's advance towards South Mountain would have been more rapid after Sept. 13th than before. On the contrary, it is as certain as anything of this kind

[1] See Governor Curtin's despatch of Sept. 11 (*War Records*, vol. 19, Part 2, p. 268), and Lincoln's reply (p. 276).

can be that he would have continued his cautious forward movement keeping his eye, as Halleck advised, upon the south side of the Potomac lest his left flank be turned, while he watched from the other flank for Lee's advance northward which was being constantly telegraphed from Pennsylvania. In this way he would have gradually forced or followed Lee over the South Mountain. But the lost order changed all this. It relieved McClellan of all fears for Pennsylvania; it showed him that Halleck's apprehensions were groundless; it proved that his adversary was for the time wholly occupied with the capture of Harper's Ferry; it revealed the great possibilities that lay within reach of quick and vigorous blows.

Lee had been severely criticised for dividing his army at this time, and in one sense he is fairly exposed to it. But at bottom, the criticism in this case is but the common one to which a bold leader is always exposed who attempts by superior energy and skill to make up for inferiority of men and resources. General Lee's whole course during the summer of 1862 and indeed during the war, is open to this kind of criticism. There were no aggressive movements possible to an army so inferior in strength as was the Confederate that may not be condemned as rash, while on the other hand a strictly defensive war against the resources and facilities of attack possessed by the North pointed to certain and not distant collapse. Lee's expectation in regard to the reduction of Harper's Ferry was a reasonable one, and the risk he assumed in dividing his army to effect it was less than the risk he incurred in the operations against Pope three weeks before. A single day more of time would probably have rendered unnecessary the struggle at the South Mountain passes; two days would certainly have done so, and the Confederate army loaded with the spoils of Harper's Ferry would have reunited at Hagerstown without difficulty. No one can read the history of this campaign, no one can study McClellan's career, no one can see the doubt and anxiety of the Federal administration as shown by Halleck's despatches without feeling that these two days, and more, would have been Lee's had the course of events not been affected by the accident of the lost despatch. One of the most curious things about this despatch is

the crotchet of General D. H. Hill the officer to whom the lost copy was sent, that Lee was benefited instead of being injured by the loss of it. We have no time to dwell on this notion.

Let us return to the story. Lee learned on the night of the 13th that McClellan had one of his orders and that the Federal army showed unusual signs of activity. Some Southern sympathizer was present when the paper was brought to McClellan and witnessed the exultation it produced at the Federal head-quarters. This gentleman made his way through the lines as speedily as possible, found General Stuart early in the evening, and told his story. Stuart at once dispatched the news to Lee who was at Hagerstown with Longstreet and confirmed the statement by saying that the Federal army had evinced much activity during the afternoon.

D. H. Hill had been left at Boonsboro to hold Turner's Gap while McLaws had been instructed to hold Brownsville and Crampton's Gaps through which he had passed on his way to Maryland Heights. The cavalry were on the eastern side of the mountain watching the Federal approach. Longstreet's division had been taken to Hagerstown, twelve miles in the rear of the South Mountain, to get supplies and look after the Pennsylvania troops which were reported as advancing towards that point. When Lee received Stuart's dispatch, he seems at once to have determined upon the boldest of the courses open to him. Longstreet advised a withdrawal behind the Antietam, but this could only be done by abandoning the investment of Harper's Ferry and even then with risk to McLaws. Lee was not prepared to give up the prize of Harper's Ferry unless forced. The fall of that place might now occur, at any hour, it could certainly not be long delayed. Meanwhile the Confederates would have the immense advantage of the mountain barrier in stopping McClellan. A less force than Lee had at hand, skilfully used at a mountain pass had often baffled a great army. Hill had 5,000 men, which well posted at the key points ought to stop McClellan for the time, and Longstreet could more than double Hill's force by the middle of the afternoon, that is by the time McClellan could get any large force into action. The condition of the Federal army and Mc-

Clellan's cautious disposition were further incentives to the course of the Confederate commander. Hence, instead of breaking the investment of Harper's Ferry and concentrating at once on the Antietam, Lee informed Hill of the state of affairs by midnight of the 13th and directed him to see in person to the defense of the main gap, while Longstreet was ordered to return early in the morning to Hill's support. Lee also transferred his own headquarters to Boonsboro. We have not space to describe in detail the struggle at Turner's nor at Crampton's gap on Sept. 14th. McClellan had moved near enough the night before to be able to strike with great force. His main efforts were directed against Turner's gap where the old National road crosses the mountain. Here it was that D. H. Hill with five brigades and one regiment of cavalry blocked his way. The struggle was long and bloody but it was poorly managed by the Confederates. D. H. Hill had not studied the ground well and was dilatory in the disposition of his forces. Only two brigades were on the mountain top during the night of the 13th. The others lay around Boonsboro at the western base of the ridge. Nor were these brought up and placed in position promptly on the 14th. The consequence was that General Cox secured a foot-hold on the top of the mountain beyond Hill's right before he knew it, and while the Confederates were moving in that direction. In the ensuing struggle the Confederate General Garland and many of his men fell. The supports which Hill now brought up, too tardy to save Garland from defeat, were badly handled, and accomplished little. General Hill says one brigade never drew trigger. On the north side of the gap Rhodes made a gallant and brilliant fight against Hooker in the afternoon but was unsupported and gradually forced back. Had Hill posted two of his brigades at Fox's, and the gap south of it, early in the morning, as carefully as he did Colquit across the main road, and had he sent two brigades instead of one with Rhodes to the north side, it is probable that the Federals would have been held in check on the flanks, just as they were by Colquit on the turnpike itself.

Longstreet's troops after a long and hurried march came to Hill's assistance about the middle of the afternoon, but Reno and Hooker

had then made decided progress, and it was as much as the Confederates could do to hold on to the main gap itself and prevent the Union troops from crossing the mountain. Such positions had been won by the Federals on both right and left as rendered another day's struggle impossible and before daylight General Lee withdrew his troops from the gap and directed them towards Sharpsburg. Such was the result at Turner's or the Boonsboro gap. As for Crampton's gap, Franklin reached and attacked it about mid-day, but was stubbornly held in check for some time by Munford with a small force of infantry and dismounted cavalry. These were poorly supported, however, and were finally run over. By nightfall Franklin, making better progress than the main body, had reached the western base of the mountain directly in the rear of McLaws.

Thus on the night of the 14th success seem to smile on McClellan's plans. He had lost time it is true, in pushing his attacks. After the discovery of Lee's plans he should not have delayed an hour in seizing the passes. Instead of this he had rested during the night of the 13th, and had made his attack on the 14th, with deliberation. Greater promptness might have saved Harper's Ferry—it certainly would have added much to the embarrassment of his adversary. But as it was, McClellan's attacks had been successful, and he had inflicted severe losses upon Hill and Longstreet.

Lee had held the passes for a day—long enough as it had proved to insure the fall of Harper's Ferry—but he had been driven from them and on the morning of the 15th he fell back to Sharpsburg, that he might the more readily cover the withdrawal of McLaws, if necessary, while securing the speediest concentration of his army either on the north or the south bank of the Potomac. He was especially anxious about McLaws whose position was critical, and whom he had ordered to join him on the Antietam if pressed by Franklin before the surrender of Harper's Ferry. The fall of this place early in the day relieved Lee of this anxiety. It opened an easy way of retreat for McLaws and it enabled the Confederate commander to call back by forced marches all the troops that had been engaged there.

Lee now determined to give battle north of the Potomac, if he could concentrate his army in time. Should McClellan press him too quickly for this he was ready to withdraw D. H. Hill and Longstreet to the south side at Shepherdstown, and Jackson's first orders looked to the covering of such a movement. But Lee was unwilling to give up Maryland without a battle. The success of Harper's Ferry had been a great one, but he was not ready to yield to McClellan without further contest the advantage that would follow a forced withdrawal into Virginia. The battle before him would be fought under disadvantageous circumstances that he had not expected, and that might well give him pause; but on the other hand, it was a battle in which McClellan would have to take the initiative, and experience had taught Lee to expect much in such a case from the overcaution of his antagonist. Besides, immense results might follow a victory, and a victory Lee believed to be within his reach notwithstanding all the difficulties of his situation.

The surrender of Harper's Ferry was known to McClellan as soon as to Lee, that is, by the middle of the forenoon of the 15th. It made no great difference in the movements of the Federal commander. He had advanced on the 14th, with two objects in view—one the relief of Harper's Ferry—the other the overthrow of part of Lee's army. He had not been prompt enough to effect the first object. Had Franklin pushed through Crampton's gap early on the 15th, and pressed vigorously upon the rear of McLaws it is possible—though by no means certain—that Harper's Ferry might have been relieved; but, as we have seen, Franklin had reached the western base of the mountain only at nightfall, and when he moved next morning it was to find McLaws drawn up across Pleasant Valley, in so strong a position that Franklin hesitated to attack. The fall of Harper's Ferry relieved McLaws from his embarrassing position and enabled him to withdraw from Franklin's front without inconvenience. It must be counted a capital mistake on Franklin's part that he permitted this withdrawal without doing anything to prevent or impede it.

But the main body of McClellan's army had been directed against D. H. Hill and Longstreet, had forced them from Turner's

gap, and on the morning of the 15th was ready to follow them up. The failure to save Harper's Ferry should have stimulated McClellan's efforts to accomplish the other part of his plan. It was within his power to push Lee entirely across the Potomac or to force him to battle while the greater part of his troops were away. McClellan knew that upon the fall of Harper's Ferry the Confederate commander would strain every nerve to concentrate his army and he knew that this concentration could be effected inside of two days. It was vitally important, therefore, to him that not an hour should be lost in forcing Lee to fight.

It is impossible not to be struck with the contrast between the energy that characterized the operations of the two armies during those two days. Lee began to retreat to the Antietam on the morning of the 15th covering his rear with cavalry and impeding the advance of the enemy as much as possible. By midday the troops were placed upon the heights of the Antietam and dispositions made to give battle. Orders had been sent to Jackson to hasten back from Harper's Ferry and the capitulation was no sooner effected than that officer prepared to join his commander. Jackson's troops were much exhausted by the marching and manœuvring of the past few days. Many of them had had no sleep on the night of the 14th, and no breakfast the next morning. Jackson himself is said to have fallen asleep on a chair during his interview with General White, while copies of the terms of the surrender were being prepared for signing. But no matter, the troops were fed; A. P. Hill was left with one division to parole the prisoners and dispose of the captured property; and having ordered Walker and McLaws to follow, Jackson was, before nightfall, leading two of his divisions towards Sharpsburg. All night the weary column tramped on, and after marching seventeen miles and wading the Potomac, reached the field in the forenoon of the 16th. Walker followed some hours later. McLaws, who was delayed by crossing into Virginia at Harper's Ferry, and who was not so good a marcher, did not reach Sharpsburg until 10 o'clock of the 17th, when the great battle had been in progress for some hours. Last of all, A. P. Hill, leaving Harper's Ferry at 6 o'clock on the 17th, reached the field by the middle of the

afternoon, in time to do his part—and a great part—in the battle. Lee effected this concentration at heavy cost in the exhaustion of the men and the consequent straggling. Jackson's divisions sank to brigades and many men from all the commands dropped along the roadside. Still, Lee brought all the divisions of his army together in time to participate in the battle. Military history furnishes but few examples of so masterful and so energetic a concentration of widely scattered forces in front of a powerful enemy. On the other hand, McClellan followed Lee to the banks of the Antietam, but instead of crossing and attacking at once, he waited the arrival of the mass of his army, and its cumbersome material. The opportunity of attacking Lee while worn by the conflict at South Mountain and out of reach of all the troops engaged at Harper's Ferry was thus lost. Next day, the 16th, McClellan spent in reconnoitering. If it was a mistake not to attack on the afternoon of the 15th, it was a greater mistake not to attack on the 16th. But McClellan was so impressed by Lee's bold front and his evident intention of giving battle that he hesitated to assault before his entire army was at hand. There was much in recent events to make McClellan cautious, there was much in the then present condition of affairs to prevent him from being rash, but it is simply impossible to explain why, after moving forward with the design of crushing the half of Lee's divided army, after having taken the first steps towards the execution of this design at the South Mountain passes, he should have given Lee the time and opportunity to confront him with a united army at Sharpsburg.

Though an indecisive one, the battle of Sharpsburg was one of the great battles of the war, and one of those best deserving of careful study. We can only outline its prominent features. Lee's army was posted on the heights west of the Antietam, and his front was covered by that stream. The Confederate centre and left were some distance in rear of the creek, the crossing of which on that part of his line Lee did not attempt to dispute. The creek was crossed by stone bridges and by several fords. Lee's left up stream was his most vulnerable point as on that flank the country was less broken and the stream easily passable. The Confederate army occupied a line of about two miles on which

Lee was able to place not over 35,000[1] men of all arms. The Confederate loss at South Mountain had been considerable and the marches to and from Harper's Ferry had caused a much greater depletion of their ranks, but if the Confederate numbers were much reduced it was the very flower of that army that remained. Only the bravest and most vigorous of the men who had fought their way from the James to the Potomac now stood north of the latter stream ready to give battle. The Federal army which lay on the eastern side of the Antietam, numbered, according to McClellan, 87,000,[2] and this included a large number of the veterans of the Peninsula, the Shenandoah, and the Rappahannock. General Palfrey thinks McClellan's numbers are too high and it is possible that the Federals had available for battle not over 75,000 or 80,000 men. McClellan's plan of attack was a good one. He determined to throw three of his corps or about half of his army under Hooker, Mansfield, and Sumner, against Lee's left. At the same time he directed Burnside's corps against Lee's right over the bridge since known as "Burnside's." Burnside's attack was to divert the Confederate right and was to be converted into a co-operating attack when success began to crown the Federal efforts on the other wing. The cavalry were to occupy the attention of the Confederate centre and were, if necessary, to have the support of Porter who was held in reserve near the centre of the Federal army. The disposition of his cavalry was the weakest point in McClellan's plan of battle. It might have been of far more use on either flank.

The tremendous blow which McClellan dealt with his right wing fell first upon Jackson to whom Lee had committed the Confederate left. Stuart with a part of his cavalry covered Jackson's flank. From daylight until 10 o'clock a fight unsurpassed in determination, in fierceness, in carnage, filled the famous cornfield and woods about the Dunker Church with the dead and wounded of both armies. Hooker first threw himself with his

[1] See Lee's Report. Taylor's *Four Years with General Lee*, p. 70-73. Also Early's estimate in Address at Washington and Lee University, 1872.

[2] See McClellan's Report.

accustomed dash upon Jackson, but though he inflicted heavy loss his corps was literally shivered to pieces. Mansfield coming to his assistance, fell at the head of his troops, but Jackson and Hood and part of D. H. Hill's men were borne back gradually by the exhausting and unequal struggle. Fearful, however, was the price which these Southern soldiers exacted for the ground they yielded. When Sumner led forth the third Federal corps to the attack he testifies that the commands of Hooker and Mansfield had been practically dispersed. Besides the artillery which in strong array formed a barrier against all the waves of Confederate success, there were but a few hundred men of the two corps, which had preceded him to be found, in order, upon the battle field. The Confederates on the other hand were reduced almost to the proportions of a picket line, and when Sumner pushed forward at the head of Sedgwick's division it seemed as if neither the courage nor the skill of Jackson could longer avert the threatened destruction. But Early, at the head of the only intact brigade on Jackson's line checked the advance of the Federals and a few moments later, having been joined by McLaws who had just arrived from Harper's Ferry and Walker who had come over from the Confederate right, struck the flank of Sedgwick's division with such force and effect that in twenty minutes this splendid body of 5,000 troops was broken into fragments and 2,000 of them lay wounded or dead upon the field. This magnificent charge virtually decided the day on Lee's left flank and gave Jackson possession of the field.

Sumner's other divisions which had been directed against D. H. Hill at the Confederate center met for a time with greater success. Hill's line ran along a narrow, crooked, country road to be known in all coming time as the "Bloody Lane." Here for an hour or two brave men fought and died stubbornly refusing to yield. In that lane Rhodes' Alabamians and G. B. Anderson's North Carolinians fought most courageously. The gallant and persistent assaults of French and Richardson were for a time repelled, but finally the efforts of these two divisions, composed of excellent troops as they were, and led by such men as Barlow and Cross were successful. Rhodes and Anderson leaving the bloody lane

piled with the dead were driven from their position and the Confederate centre seemed pierced. R. H. Anderson's division had come up to the assistance of this part of the Confederate line but Anderson was wounded and his badly handled troops were driven back with loss. Richardson's advance reached the Piper House. A number of Confederate batteries under Carter, H. P. Jones and others were the most efficient agents in checking the Federal advance at this critical stage. Richardson hesitated to expose his flank by pushing on, especially after the defeat of Sedgwick. The severity of the Federal losses and the fall of the brave Richardson himself no doubt contributed to the same result. By one o'clock the battle had died down on the centre as well as on the left of the Confederate position. Both sides were exhausted and were for a time content that the slaughter should cease. Franklin's corps reached this part of the field about midday and took the place of the exhausted commands which constituted the Federal right. But when Franklin asked to be led against the Confederates, Sumner declared that the whole Federal right wing was too much shattered to admit of risking the only reserves within reach and would not permit it. Later in the day McClellan confirmed this judgment.

Meantime Burnside had been all the forenoon striving to carry the bridge by which he desired to cross his corps against the Confederate right. Here two skeleton regiments of Georgians under Toombs, with a battery or two, disputed the way. Again and again were the Federal assaults repulsed until the 400 or 500 Confederates had killed or wounded more of their assailants than their own numbers. Finally, about the time the battle ceased on the other wing, Burnside discovered a ford below, and crossing at it compelled the brave Georgians to leave their post or be captured. It was after midday when Burnside thus forced a passage. An hour or more was spent in forming the troops, and about the middle of the afternoon he pressed forward toward Sharpsburg, opposed only by some 2,500 infantry under D. R. Jones and a number of Confederate batteries. Lee had stripped his right early in the day to reinforce his left and it seemed at one time as if the slender force opposed to Burnside must be overwhelmed.

The Federal advance, in full tide of success, had even reached the outskirts of Sharpsburg, when A. P. Hill reached the field at the very crisis of the action. He had left Harper's Ferry at sunrise and going up the Virginia side of the Potomac had waded the river and now, after a march of 17 miles, was hastening to reinforce the sorely pressed line. With admirable promptness and skill Hill threw three of his brigades against the flank of Burnside's column. Again victory perched on the Confederate standards. Rodman was killed, his division thrown into confusion, and defeated, and in an hour or so Burnside's entire corps was huddled about the bridge from which they advanced, part of them even taking refuge on the eastern side. Thus at nightfall the Confederates had beaten back completely the formidable attack on their right, and Burnside had nothing to show for his day's work but the bridge over the Antietam. Pleasanton's demonstrations against the Confederate centre were too unimportant to dwell upon.

Thus ended the battle of Sharpsburg. There has been much ill-directed criticism of McClellan both as to the conception and the execution of his plan of battle. The plan was good enough, and the execution of it on Sumner's wing was at first not bad. Hooker's and Mansfield's assaults were spirited and bloody and they were made skilfully and with all the force at command. It was an open-field, stand-up-fight between these two corps and the Confederates. If the Union troops failed to drive back Jackson and the flower of the Confederate army from the field it was not their fault nor that of their leaders. Sumner's attack, too, was vigorous and determined enough, though too far separated in time from Hooker's and Mansfield's. But Sumner committed two serious errors, first, in permitting his corps to be divided, and next, in the incautious way with which he threw Sedgwick's division against such an antagonist as Jackson. It was not, however, in the mode of attack on the Federal right, that the great error of the day lay; this error consisted in the dilatory manner in which Burnside performed his part of the drama. His attack should have been made while that on the Federal right was in progress. Had Burnside's blow fallen two or three hours earlier than it did, A. P. Hill, the Desaix of Sharpsburg, would have been out of the

question, for he was then on the south side of the Potomac. Had Burnside pressed forward while Sumner was still fighting it is possible that neither the skill of Lee nor the fighting of Longstreet and Jackson might have been able to keep the Confederate lines intact. We make no attempt to apportion the blame for this delay between McClellan and Burnside, but wherever the fault lies, this mistake more than all else, cost the Federals the day.

McClellan and Sumner have been criticised for not permitting Franklin to attack, but as Sumner said at the time, there was no reason to think that 10,000 or 12,000 men could accomplish what 40,000 had failed to do after putting forth all their strength. Nor is there now any reason to think that Franklin would have done more than add to the list of casualties on that bloody day. At the very time when McClellan was deciding against this movement, Jackson by Lee's direction was attempting to organize a column of assault from his sorely thinned ranks with which to drive the Federals across the Antietam. Stuart was to open the way for the advance of this column. A vigorous outburst of Federal artillery at the first aggressive movement convinced the Confederate leaders that they were too weak for this enterprise and they desisted; but there is no reason to believe that Jackson would not have welcomed and repulsed any attack that Franklin could have made upon his lines about the Dunker church.

Nor has McClellan been justly condemned for failing to renew the battle on the 18th. Fearfully thinned and exhausted as were the Confederates, Lee was in the better fighting condition on the 18th, than was McClellan. In Hooker's corps for instance only some 6700 men were with their colors on the 18th, while there were 6300 stragglers and fugitives over and above the killed and wounded the day before. Mansfield's corps and Sedgwick's division were likewise terribly shattered. On the other wing Burnside asked and obtained Morell's division as reinforcements to enable him to hold on to the bridge over the Antietam. The Confederates were in no such condition as this; they had maintained their ground; Lee felt after the battle entirely able to resist any further assaults that McClellan might make with the troops he then had, and therefore waited in position a renewal of the fight

on the 18th. McClellan, supported by the judgment of his best officers, decided to defer the attacking until the heavy reinforcements on their way should arrive, and there seems absolutely nothing on which to base an opinion that he could, with his shattered forces, have driven Lee on the 18th from the position which the Confederates had been able to hold all day on the 17th against the most determined assaults of the Federal army. But Lee lost heavily in men, there were far less than 30,000 Confederates in line on the 18th, he knew that large reserves were hastening to McClellan's assistance, (Couch and Humphreys brought up 14,000 of them during the 18th); the Confederates were too weak to risk another battle with fresh troops in front and the Potomac in their rear. Lee therefore withdrew across the river on the night of the 18th, and on the 20th, checked in a bloody and decided way the attempt to follow him.

Thus ended the campaign. A long period of rest and recuperation succeeded before the two armies were again to lock horns at Fredericksburg. A review of the campaign shows that (in the then circumstances of the two belligerents) the balance of advantage remained with the Federals. Lee had occupied Maryland too short a time to secure any reinforcements. He had captured 12,500 men with a large quantity of arms and artillery at Harper's Ferry, he had killed and wounded 15,000[1] men of McClellan's army, but this had cost him 10,000 men besides some artillery. He had left the Federal army in such a condition that for six weeks it was not ready to resume the offensive, but his own forces had been so greatly depleted not merely by the casualties of battle, but by the labors and privations of the campaign, that an equal length of time was required to restore them to first rate order. McClellan, if he failed to seize all that fortune had placed in his hands in the revelation of Lee's designs, had nevertheless effected a great deal. On the second of September he had assumed command of the disjointed and dispirited forces about Washington with instructions to prevent the capture of the capital. In two weeks he had restored confidence to the army, to the government,

[1] *War Records*, Vol. 19, Part 1, p. 204.

to the country. He had rendered Washington and Baltimore secure, or rather had made their safety manifest, for they were not in danger. He had forced the Confederate army from Maryland and inflicted upon it losses which, if far less in amount than those he had himself sustained, were far more difficult to repair. He might have done more, but it is nevertheless true that with the exception of the fortnight that ended at Appomattox, no commander of the army of the Potomac ever did so much in two weeks as did McClellan in the Sharpsburg campaign.

We have before noticed the criticism directed against Lee for dividing his army in order to invest Harper's Ferry, and we believe he was fully justified in taking that risk. There is another point where, as it seems to us, he is far more open to criticism. Should he have fought at Sharpsburg at all? Would it not have been wiser, after having effected the fall of Harper's Ferry, to have retired into Virginia without a battle? On the night of the 15th two-thirds of his army was on the south side of the Potomac; the remainder could have been transferred without difficulty. In the light of subsequent events we believe this course would have been the wiser. The Confederate army, concentrated on the south side of the Potomac, would have been better able to receive McClellan's assault if he had ventured to make one; or failing this, Lee might have recrossed at Williamsport or above if he desired to attack McClellan. Lee did not realize fully the depletion that was thinning his ranks; and he probably expected to have McLaws and R. H. Anderson's divisions on the field by the night of the 16th instead of the forenoon of the 17th. Fewer stragglers and the earlier arrival of McLaws might have given Lee better results. But it seems probable on the whole that Lee overrated his own strength and underrated the improvement that had taken place in the Federal army since he had driven it two weeks before into the lines of Washington. If McClellan erred in not fighting on the 15th and 16th, Lee erred in fighting at all.

But however doubtful the policy of accepting battle at Sharpsburg, when the battle had been once joined, the tactics of the Confederate commander were such as to reflect the highest credit upon his skill. Lee had no reserves and could afford none, but he

handled his forces with a judgment so cool and clear as to leave nothing for criticism. It would be difficult for us now, with all the facts before us, to correct his dispositions. Again and again the utmost tension existed at different parts of the Confederate line and it was hard to know where to look for succor. But the succor was obtained, even when other points had to be stripped; it was always in time, and it was used effectively.

If it be the part of a commander in the field to possess a full comprehension of the situation; a just knowledge not only of his own resources but of those of his enemy; a fair estimate of the character of the attacks that can be made upon him, and an accurate judgment as to how and where these blows will be delivered; and if to knowledge of this sort there should be added the capacity to handle his own army masterfully; we believe that on no other occasion did General Lee show more ability for the direction of a great battle than at Sharpsburg.

TWO LETTERS OF LAFAYETTE.

FROM THE ORIGINALS IN THE COLLECTIONS OF THE MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

[Address wanting]

19th November [1811]

My dear Sir

I am too anxious to hear of your negotiation to have remained long absent from town. On my arrival last night I was told of your presentation, and will call before dinner to know something more. In the meanwhile I happened last evening to meet a Counsellor of State, M. Malouet, with whom I spoke of our affairs as I do with every one whom I think to be of some instant or remote use. He told me he was now making a Memorial about the general Business which is to go through the Minister of the Interior to the Emperor, and agreed to introduce the arguments I had

given him, promising that if I gave them in writing to-morrow before noon they would certainly be put under the Emperor's eyes. He advised to insist upon your means to prevent a mixture of English commodities, declaring it to be the principal difficulty to be removed from the Imperial mind. M. Malouet is a very sensible honest man, known to be so by the Emperor, and whose opinions cannot be suspected of any selfish motive. He has resided sixteen or seventeen years in England, had a great share, as an Emigrant in the confidence of that Government, and altho' neither you nor I would have liked any dealings with them, he behaved, in the line of his party, with moderation and good sense. I give you these particulars to show that ideas presented by him may do some good. It is a great deal to be assured by a man of veracity they shall be conveyed to the Emperor from the Interior Department as well as that of Foreign Affairs.

I have mentioned to you a kind of friendly negociation I entered upon at the desire of Gl. Armstrong with the Prince Royal of Sweden. Inclosed is the copy of my letter of introduction for Mr. Speyer. I thought it most proper to send it to Gl. Armstrong, under whose direction I had acted than to the President himself so that I have got no answer respecting that business. I am afraid our friends in Washington have not fully attended to the good disposition of Bernadotte and his situation in the North. An Envoy has been sent to the Danish King, a man much more dependent on the will of others. It must be acknowledged that of the two sets of kings, the new one is the better, altho' we might well have dispensed with both; but these have more sense and a better Education, or they could not have been thought of to come in. And among them Bernadotte is, in my opinion the Best. Perhaps will you think it proper in your despatches to say a word of that business.

Mr. Louis came last night to Mde. de Tillé's to know how he could forward a letter from M.—— mentioning he had seen three times Mr. Poster and was endeavoring to bring about my loan.

My respects to the ladies.

Most affectionally yours

LAFAYETTE.

La Grange, June 23d 1824

My dear Sir

I am much obliged to you for those Highly valued favors and other kind Testimonies of a friendly Remembrance. Mr. Townsend Sharples did me the pleasure of a Visit with Mr. Jones of West Chester. His time was short; they left us the next morning, so has done Mr. Cook who arrived last evening, but he has promised to return Monday. To those good and welcome friends I refer myself for intelligence respecting the family at La Grange, who cordially shared in my Gratification to receive them under this American roof.

I thank you, my dear Sir, for your kind attempts to obtain wild turkies male and female. Two males I have but no hens. The mamoth Turkey died, you know on the passage over. Also my acknowledgments to Mr. Thomas McGrath of Yorktown. Be pleased also to accept my thanks In your Endeavours to procure American Rabbits, partridges, pheasants, all animals that are of a different kind from their European namesakes. I like to be surrounded in these retirements with productions of the Country so very dear to my heart, and find an additional Justification in the sense of my obligations to you.

With affectionate Regard and good wishes, I am

your sincere friend

LAFAYETTE

Jon. Townsend, Esq., Baltimore.
(Indorsed) Rec. 8 mo. 21st 1827.

BENEDICT LEONARD CALVERT THE YOUNGER.

Of this gentleman, brother of Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore, and Governor of Maryland 1727–31, not very much is known. He seems to have been one of the most promising scions of the Calvert family, and might have attained distinction in England (where he sat in Parliamont as member for Harwich in 1726) but for his early death. He was born in 1700, and died at sea on the voyage from Maryland in 1731.

A number of brief but interesting references to him are preserved in the Diaries of the antiquary, Thomas Hearne, published by the Oxford Historical Society. As this book is rare on this side of the Atlantic, we have thought some of Hearne's notes worth reproducing.

Hearne made the acquaintance of young Calvert in 1717, when the latter was a Gentleman Commoner of Christ's College, Oxford, in which University Hearne was resident, having been elected Architypographus, or Superintendent of printing and publishing. Unfortunately he was an uncompromising Jacobite and non-juror, and the University was a nest of Hanoverians, so he found himself in perpetual hot water. Taking advantage of some imprudent remarks of his in prefaces to two works edited by him for the University press, they excluded him from the printing office, and tried to expel him from the University.

It was when in the midst of these worries that Hearne became acquainted with young Calvert, and seems to have been attracted to him at once, speaking of him as "a young gentleman of very great hopes, and studious of antiquities." "He is now seventeen years of age. He was educated for about a year at St. Omer's. He was then a Papist. His father was first a Papist, and some time before he died became a Protestant. This young Calvert was converted at Westminster school by Dr. Bisse, Bishop of Hereford, and Dr. Friend, the Master of the said school. His father

died in the thirty-seventh year of his age. His mother is now a Papist, being a convert of the Romish Church, by the persuasion of his father."

A young man of good family, virtuous life, with a proper respect for his elders, and who, above all, had a taste for antiquities and sound scholarship, held a master-key to Hearne's heart. Their acquaintance quickly ripened to friendship, and the old scholar found in his young friend's society a great solace when his soul was vexed with Whiggery and bad Latin. They took walks together, and young Calvert told him bits of family history.

"Mr Calvert (with whom I walked to Heddington to-day) tells me that my Lady Litchfield hath a good collection of original pictures, particularly of the Court of King Charles II, whose daughter she is by the Duchess of Cleveland, and hath been a very great beauty. She is a very good and virtuous lady. The King had a greater value and love for this lady than he had for his other children. Mr. Calvert (from whom I have this story) is grandson to the said lady who married Sir Edward Henry Lee, who thereupon was created Earl of Lichfield, and after the Revolution was a non-juror, and (to his honour be it said) died so in the year 1716, aged fifty-three . . . . The foresaid Duchess of Cleveland was a very cruel and austere mother, one instance of which I learn from Mr. Calvert, who tells me that his grandmother, the Lady Lichfield, being in her mother's coach in the Park, happened to break the glass of the coach, and thereupon her father, the King, passing by in another coach, happened to stop, and asking his daughter what made her cry (for she cried as soon as the glass was broke) she answered, because she was afraid that her mother would beat her soundly. Upon this the King took her into his own coach, and showed a particular dislike of the Duchess's ill usage by sending an express message to her never to strike her more, under pain of losing his sight and favour for the future if she should offer at any such thing."

Again in February:

"Mr. Calvert hath a small Horace which belonged to his father who was an excellent and an elegant poet, in which are many Ms. Remarks done by his father, a great admirer of Horace, of which he had about thirty-five different editions."

In June Hearne puts off a journey he had intended making, to go with young Calvert to Ditchley, the seat of the Earl of Lichfield, Calvert's uncle. He remarks: "The desire I had to see the place, and the respect I have (most deservedly) for this most hopeful young gentleman, made me alter my design and defer my other journey." With this visit Hearne was greatly delighted, and he gives a full account of the noble house, and of the pictures and other rare and interesting objects there, though to his disappointment he failed to see a cabinet of ancient coins and medals, the key not being procurable. However he peeped through the key-hole of a closet, and saw a book which seemed to be an old chronicle.

Hearne's troubles were at their acutest in June, and he greatly missed the sympathetic society of young Calvert, who had gone to France. He received, however, an affectionate letter from him, wherein the youth dwells on his grief at their separation, for which, however, he had found some balm in a diligent study of antiquities. Hearne remarks:

"I preserve the letter out of the great respect I have for him, upon account of his quality, his virtues, and his skill and diligence in antiquities. It is an addition to my troubles to lose the conversation of so accomplished a person."

On Aug. 16, 1718, he records:

"This night returned to Oxford very safe (for which I bless God) my dear, excellent friend, the Honourable Benedict Leonard Calvert, Esq. He hath been with his brother, the Lord Baltimore, at Calais, Dieppe, and other places. He hath made many pertinent remarks in his journey. He expected to find many English antiquities in Calais, but was deceived. Neither could he learn whereabouts it was that the Mint for the English was in the town. It is certain that the Mint here was very famous."

Hearne displaying great interest in the genealogy of the Calvert family, young Calvert drew up the pedigree with his own hand, which is inserted in the Diary. He also furnished other parti-

culars; for one thing, expressing a doubt of the Flemish origin of the family, which Norroy King of Arms, on the authority of Verstegan, had inserted in the exemplification issued to Sir George Calvert in 1622 (now in the posession of the Maryland Historical Society) and declaring his belief that the family was descended from the Lancashire Calverts or Calverleys.

Under the date of Feb. 12, 1718/9 we find this entry:

"Mr. Calvert tells me that his grandfather, Charles, Lord Baltimore, being well apprised of Oates's villainous design against the lives of the Roman Catholic Lords, retired, by advice of King Charles, into Maryland, and that afterwards, for his own private satisfaction, he drew up some memories about that whole [affair] which Mr. Calvert supposes to be now in the hands of his grandfather's widow."

There is some probability in this. The "Popish Plot" convulsed England in 1678–80, and in the latter year Charles visited Maryland, where he remained until 1683, being much occupied in trying to frustrate the wiles of the labyrinthine Penn.

The particulars here given are all from the sixth volume of Hearne's Diaries. As the seventh has not yet appeared, we cannot follow further the progress of this interesting friendship.

ONE OF CELERON'S PLATES.

In 1749 the Marquis de la Galissonière, "Captain General of New France," in pursuance of his plan of claiming for the French crown the territory drained by the Mississippi and its affluents, despatched an officer, Celeron de Bienville, with orders to deposit at certain points leaden plates inscribed with that claim. A description of one of these plates, in the cabinet of the American Antiquarian Society, is given in the transactions of that society, Vol. II. This plate was buried on Aug. 16, at the mouth of the

river "Yenague," or Muskingum. It is, unhappily, in a sorely mutilated condition, not more than one-fourth of the inscription being left. In the proceedings of that Society for 1905, this fragment of a plate is said to be the only one now known to be in existence.

The Maryland Historical Society has in its collections a facsimile of another of these most interesting historical relics, which was buried two days later at the mouth of the Kanawha, and which was (and presumably still is) in perfect condition. The facsimile was sent in 1847 to the President of the Society, and we reproduce it with the accompanying letter:

My Dear Sir:

I take pleasure in sending you an accurate transcript of an engraved leaden plate which was recently found at the confluence of the Ohio and Great Kanawha Rivers, where it had lain some ninety-seven years, until from abrasion it was disclosed, projecting from the bank of the Ohio, at a depth of some six feet.

The plate, which is now in the possession of Col. Beale at Point Pleasant (mouth of the Kanawha) is about an eighth of an inch thick. In other respects the sheet which I send you is an accurate representation—one corner of it presenting jagged appearance, as if worn by the friction of the water. The inscription, as well as the several emblems of France, the fleur de lis, so much resembles the original, that the whole may be regarded as an impression from the plate.

This unpronounceable name of our river, has no place in legend or tradition—but is long since, superceded by the more euphonious Kanawha—"river of the woods."

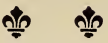
Accept assurances of the regard and esteem of

Most truly

Yours, &c.,

JAMES M. LAIDLEY.

BRANTZ MAYER, ESQR.,
Charleston, January 25, 1847.



L'AN 1749 DV REGNE DE LOVIS XV ROY DE
FRANCE NOVS CELERON COMMANDANT DVN DE
TACHEMENT ENVOIE PAR MONSIEVR LE MIS DE LA
GALISSONIERE COMMANDANT GENERAL DE LA
NOVVELLE FRANCE POVR RETABLIR LA TRANQVILLITÉ
DANS QVELQVES VILLAGES SAVVAGES DE CES CANTONS
AVONS ENTERREÉ CETTE PLAQVE A L'ENTRÉE DE LA
RIVIERE CHINODAHICHITHA LE 18 AOVST
PRES DE LA RIVIERE ÔYO AVTREMENT BELLE
RIVIERE POVR MONVMENT DV RENOVVELLEMENT DE
POSSESSION QVE NOVS AVONS PRIS DE LA DITTE
RIVIERE ÔYO ET DE TOVTES CELLES QVI Y TOMBENT
ET DE TOVTES LES TERRES DES DEVX COTES JVSQVE
AVX SOVRCES DES DITTES RIVIERES AINSI QVEN ONT
JOVY OV DV JOVIR LES PRECEDENTS ROYS DE FRANCE
ET QVILS SISONT MAINTENVS PAR LES ARMES ET
PAR LES TRAITÉS SPECIALEMENT PAR CEVX DE
RISVVICK DVTRECHT ET DAIX LA CHAPELLE

The editor has endeavored, but without success, to find out where this plate now is, if still in existence. Miss Delia A. McCulloch, of Point Pleasant, W. Va., informs him that there is a report that it was taken to Richmond, copied by the Virginia Historical Society, and returned to the finder, Mr. Charles W. Beale. Mr. Beale is still living, and his statement is that he lent the plate to Mr. J. M. H. Beale, then a member of Congress, who gave it to the Smithsonian Institution; but there is no record at that Institution of its ever having been received. Miss McCulloch also states that a description and copy were given in "The Olden Time," a periodical published in Pittsburg in 1846.

As this seems to be the only perfect plate known to be in existence, a knowledge of its present whereabouts is very desirable; and the editor would be grateful for any information on this point.

TILGHMAN FAMILY.

(*Continued from page* 184.)

9. Dr. Richard Tilghman[7] (*Oswald,*[6] *William*[5]) was born 3rd September, 1626, and came to Maryland with his family, in 1661, in the ship *Elizabeth and Mary.* It is not unlikely that he was induced to do so by Samuel Tilghman, probably the son of Whetenhall Tilghman, and therefore the cousin german of Richard, who had long commanded a vessel trading to Maryland and was commissioned, 15 July, 1658, "admiral" of the Maryland fleet (*Calvert Papers,* No. 205). At all events patents were issued, 17 January, 1659, in identical terms to Samuel Tilghman of London, mariner, and to Richard Tilghman, citizen and chirurgeon, of London, each of whom had undertaken to transport into the province twenty persons of British descent (Md. Land Office, Lib. 4, fol. 416.420). Each patent was for 1000 acres of land on Tredavon Creek. 28 July, 1663, "Richard Tilghman of the Province of Maryland and Continent of Virginia, Doctor in Physick," purchased from James Coursey of Lincoln's Inn, in the County of Middlesex, Gent., a tract of 400 acres near the mouth of Chester River (*ibid.*, Lib. 10, fol. 447), and other records show that Dr. Tilghman, partly by grant and partly by purchase, acquired a very considerable landed estate. He was commissioned, 1 May 1669, High Sheriff of Talbot County and served until 17 June 1671 (Lib. C. D., fol. 404. 438). During his residence in Maryland he was actively engaged in the practice of his profession (*Old Kent,* p. 229). He died 7 Jan. 1675/6 and is buried at The Hermitage, Queen Anne County, where his tomb is still to be seen, though the inscription is now illegible. His will, dated 5 Oct. 1673 and proved 6 March 1675/6, leaves to his son William, Tilghman's Hermitage (now known as The Hermitage) and Tilghman's Addition to the Forlorn, on Chester River; to his son Richard, Tilghman's Farm, Tilghman's Choice and Tilghman's Discovery; and to his daughter Rebecca, Poplar Hill. His wife Mary is appointed executrix. The inventory of his personal estate, filed 28 August 1676, showed a total of 187,289 pounds of tobacco. Dr. Tilghman married, in

England, Mary Foxley, who survived him and died between 1699 and 1702. In August 1683, in behalf of her son William Tilghman, then deceased, she acknowledged a deed executed by the said William 17 Oct. 1682 (Talbot Co., Lib. 4, fol. 213). 18 Jan. 1688, Mary Tilghman of Talbot Co. widow, conveys to her "son and daughter" Simon Wilmer and Rebecca his wife, 1000 acres part of Tilghman and Foxley Grove (Kent Co., Lib. M., fol. 1), and in a deed to her son Richard Tilghman, dated 20 Sept. 1699, she mentions her "well beloved daughter Rebecca Wilmer," and her "son-in-law Mr. John Lillingston and his present wife" (Talbot Co., Lib. 7, fol. 219. 271). 29 August 1702, her son, Richard Tilghman, confirms the deed of his mother "Mary Tilghman, late of Talbot County, widow, deceased" to his sister Rebecca Wilmer, widow, and her children Simon and Rebecca Wilmer, for 1000 acres part of Tilghman and Foxley Grove (Kent Co., Lib. N., fol. 71).

Dr. Richard Tilghman and Mary (Foxley) his wife had issue:—

i. Samuel Tilghman,[8] b. 11 Dec. 1650; d. young.
ii. Mary Tilghman, b. Feb. 1655; mar. Matthew Ward (d. 1677) of Talbot Co. Her only son, Maj.-Gen. Matthew Tilghman Ward (b. 1677; d. 25 May 1741), was Speaker of the Md. Assembly, 1716–18; Chief Justice of the Provincial Court, 1729–32; Member of Council, 1719–41, and at the time of his death its President. He was commissioned, 22 Jan. 1739, Major-General, Commanding the militia of the Eastern Shore. He was twice married, but left no issue.
iii. William Tilghman, b. 16 Feb. 1658; d. unmarried 1682.
iv. Rebecca Tilghman, d. 1725; mar., about 1681, Simon Wilmer (d. 1699) of Kent Co.
v. Deborah Tilghman, b. 12 March 1666.
10. vi. Richard Tilghman, b. 23 Feb. 1672; d. 23 Feb. 1738.

10. Col. Richard Tilghman[8] (*Richard*,[7] *Oswald*,[6] *William*[5]) was born at The Hermitage, then called Tilghman's Hermitage, 23 Feb. 1672, and died there 23 Feb. 1738. His will, dated 25 April 1737 and proved 14 March 1738, after disposing of more than 10,000 acres in portions to his younger children leaves "the rest of my lands" to his eldest son Richard. Col. Tilghman represented Talbot County in the Maryland Assembly from 1698 to 1702 (House Journals), and was a Member of Council from 1711 until his death (U. H. Journals). In 1722, he was Chancellor of the Province (*Calvert Papers*, No. 275). He married, 7 January 1700, Anna Maria (b. 1676; d. Dec. 1748), daughter of Col.

Philemon Lloyd of Talbot County and Henrietta Maria, his wife, daughter of Capt. James Neale and widow of Richard Bennett, Jr (See *Mag.* pp. 73–75). Col. Richard Tilghman and Anna Maria his wife, are buried at The Hermitage, which is now possessed by their descendant, Miss Susan Williams. They had issue :—

i. Mary Tilghman,[9] b. 23 Aug. 1702; d. 10 Jan. 1736; mar., 12 Oct. 1721, James Earle.
ii. Philemon Tilghman, b. 1704; d. young.
11. iii. Richard Tilghman, b. 28 April 1705; d. 9 Sept. 1766.
iv. Henrietta Maria Tilghman, b. 18 Aug. 1707; d. 7 Nov. 1771; mar. 1°, 22 April 1731, George Robins, 2°, 1747, William Goldsborough.
v. Anna Maria Tilghman, b. 15 Nov. 1709; d. 30 Aug. 1763; mar. 1° William Hemsley, 2° Col. Robert Lloyd.
12. vi. William Tilghman, b. 22 Sept. 1711; d. 1782.
13. vii. Edward Tilghman, b. 3 July 1713; d. 9 Oct. 1786.
14. viii. James Tilghman, b. 6 Dec. 1716; d. 24 Aug. 1793.
15. ix. Matthew Tilghman, b. 17 Feb. 1718; d. 4 May 1790.

11. Col. Richard Tilghman[9] (*Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald,*[6] *William*[5]) of the Hermitage, Queen Anne Co., was born 28 April 1705, and died 9 Sept. 1766. He was a Justice of the Provincial Court of Maryland 1746 to 1766, and was of the Quorum of that body from 1754 (Commission Book). He married Susanna (b. 19 June 1718) daughter of Peregrine Frisby (d. 1738) of Cecil County and Elizabeth his wife, daughter of Maj. Nicholas Sewall of St. Mary's County. Mrs. Elizabeth Frisby mentions her daughter Susanna Tilghman in her will (dated 15 April 1751, proved 22 April 1752).

Col. Richard Tilghman and Susanna (Frisby) his wife had issue :—

16. i. Richard Tilghman,[10] b. 11 May 1739.
17. ii. Peregrine Tilghman, b. 24 Jan. 1741; d. 1807.
18. iii. James Tilghman, b. 2 Aug. 1743; d. 19 April 1809.
19. iv. William Tilghman, b. 11 March 1745; d. Dec. 1800.
v. Edward Tilghman.
20. vi. Elizabeth Tilghman, b. 24 April 1749; d. 1836; mar. William Cooke.
vii. Susanna Tilghman, b. 1751.
viii. Anna Maria Tilghman, b. 1759; d. 1834; mar. Henry Ward Pearce of Cecil Co.

12. William Tilghman[9] (*Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald,*[6] *William*[5]) of Grosses, Talbot County, was born 22 Sept. 1711, and died in 1782. His will dated 20 Dec. 1761 (with codicil 15 Nov. 1769), was proved in Talbot County 31 Oct. 1782. He was one of the Justices of Queen Anne County

1734-36, 1737-39, 1743-45, 1747-51, and 1754-60; was of the Quorum from 1737; and was Presiding Justice from 1755 to 1760 (Commission Book). He represented Queen Anne County in the Assembly from 1734 to 1738 (House Journals). He married, 2 Aug. 1736, his cousin Margaret Lloyd (b. 16 Feb. 1714) daughter of his uncle James Lloyd (b. 7 March 1680; d. 27 Sept. 1723) and Ann Grundy (b. 25 April 1690) his wife. James Lloyd was one of the representatives for Talbot County in the Maryland Assembly 1712-14 and 1716-22 (House Journals) and was a member of Council from 4 Nov. 1722 to 27 Sept. 1723 (U. H. Journals).

William Tilghman and Margaret (Lloyd) his wife had issue:—

i. Anna Maria Tilghman,[10] b. 3 Nov. 1737; d. 4 Feb. 1768; mar., 3 Sept. 1764, Charles Goldsborough (b. 2 April 1740; d. 25 Feb. 1769). Their son, Hon. Charles Goldsborough, was Governor of Maryland in 1818.

21. ii. Richard Tilghman, b. 6 April 1740; d. 12 April 1809.

iii. James Tilghman, b. 10 April 1742.

iv. Margaret Tilghman, b. 24 Dec. 1744; mar. her cousin Richard Tilghman (son of Matthew).

v. Henrietta Maria Tilghman, b. 18 Oct. 1749.

vi. Mary Tilghman, b. 28 June 1753; mar. Edward Roberts of Talbot Co.

13. Edward Tilghman[9] (*Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald,*[6] *William*[5]) of Wye, Queen Anne County, was born 3 July 1713, and died 9 Oct. 1786. He was High Sheriff of Queen Anne County from 5 Nov. 1739 to 5 Nov. 1742, and was one of the Justices of the County from 1743 to 1749 (Commission Book). He represented the County in the Assembly from 1746 to 1750, when he was commissioned Keeper of the Rolls for the Eastern Shore (House Journals). In 1754 he was again elected to the Assembly and served until 1771, being Speaker of the House during the sessions of 1770 and 1771 (*ibid.*). In the House Journals he is styled Captain in 1746, and Colonel in 1756, indicating that he held these ranks in the militia of his County. In 1765 he was a member of the Stamp Act Congress and one of the Committee which drew up the remonstrance to Parliament. His will was proved 31 Oct. 1786. Col. Tilghman was thrice married. His first wife was Anna Maria Turbutt, daughter of Maj. William Turbutt of Queen Anne County. His second wife, whom he married in 1749, was Elizabeth (b. 25 Nov.

1720), daughter of Samuel Chew of Dover and Mary (Galloway) his wife. The third wife of Col. Tilghman, married 25 May 1759, was Juliana (b. 3 Jan. 1729) daughter of Dominick Carroll of Cecil County and Mary his wife, daughter of Maj. Nicholas Sewall of St. Mary's County.

Col. Edward Tilghman and Anna Maria (Turbutt) his first wife had issue :—

i. Anna Maria Tilghman,[10] mar. Bennet Chew.

By his second wife, Elizabeth Chew, Col. Tilghman had issue :—

22. i. Richard Tilghman.
ii. Edward Tilghman, b. 11 Feb. 1750/1 ; d. 1 Nov. 1815.
iii. Benjamin Tilghman.
iv. Elizabeth Tilghman, mar. her cousin Richard Tilghman (son of Richard) of The Hermitage.
v. Anna Maria Tilghman, mar. 1° Charles Goldsborough (b. 1744; d. 1774), 2° Rt. Rev. Robert Smith, Bishop of South Carolina.

Col. Edward Tilghman and his third wife, Juliana Carroll, had issue :—

23. i. Matthew Tilghman,
ii. Benjamin Tilghman, b. Dec. 1764.
iii. Mary Tilghman, mar. her cousin Richard Tilghman, (son of Matthew).
iv. Susanna Tilghman, mar. Richard Ireland Jones.

(*To be Continued.*)

THE BROOKE FAMILY.

(*Continued from page* 188.)

15. Richard Brooke[6] (*Baker,*[5] *Baker,*[4] *Robert,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]) of St. Mary's Co., died in 1719. His will, dated 5 Dec. 1718 and proved 3 Aug. 1719, mentions his sons Richard and Baker, to whom he leaves "all my land being part of Delabrook Manor"; his uncle Leonard Brooke, deceased; and "my beloved wife." Testator's brother, Leonard Brooke, is appointed executor. Richard Brooke married Clare daughter of Maj. William Boarman of Charles Co. She married, secondly, Richard Sherburne of St. Mary's Co., and had by him a son Nicholas Sherburne. Her will, dated 21 Feb'y

1745 and proved 6 Aug. 1747, mentions her three sons Richard and Baker Brooke, and Nicholas Sherburne.

Richard Brooke and Clare (Boarman) his wife had issue:—

i. Richard Brooke,[7] d. 1755; mar. Monica, dau. of Clement Gardiner of St. Mary's Co., and had two daughters 1, Clare Brooke,[8] 2, Anna Brooke,[8] mar. . . . . Hill. Mrs. Monica Brooke, who d. 1772, mar. secondly Henry Queen (b. 1729; d. 1768).
ii. Baker Brooke, d. 1756; mar. Mary, dau. of Wm. Simpson of Charles Co., but had no issue.

16. Leonard Brooke[6] (*Baker,*[5] *Baker,*[4] *Robert,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]) of Prince George's Co. died in 1736. His will, dated June 1735 and proved 4 May 1736, mentions his wife Ann and the children given below. Mrs. Ann Brooke survived her husband and died in 1779. Her will, dated 15 Dec. 1769, was proved in Prince George's Co. 2 July 1779.

Leonard Brooke and Ann his wife had issue:—

i. Baker Brooke.[7]
ii. Oswald Brooke.
25. iii. Leonard Brooke, b. 1728; d. 1785.
26. iv. Richard Brooke, d. 1771.
v. Anna Brooke.
vi. Kathrine Brooke.
vii. Jane Brooke.
viii. Mary Brooke.
ix. Henrietta Brooke.

17. Thomas Brooke[6] (*Thomas,*[5] *Thomas,*[4] *Robert,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]) of Prince George's Co. was born in 1683, and died 28 Dec. 1744. His age is given in depositions as 47 in 1731, and 53 in 1736 (Pr. Geo. Co. Records). His will, dated 27 Dec. 1738 and proved 29 March 1745, mentions only his wife Lucy and his son Walter Brooke; the names of his other children are obtained from a family record. Thomas Brooke was representative for Prince George's Co. in the Maryland Assembly in 1713 (House Journal), and was High Sheriff of the County from 28 Aug. 1731 to 28 Aug. 1734 (Commission Book). He married, 9 May 1705, Lucy eldest daughter of Col. Walter Smith of Calvert Co. She was born in 1688, and died 15 April 1770. Her will, dated 25 Nov. 1769, was proved 30 Nov. 1770.

Thomas Brooke and Lucy (Smith) his wife had issue:—

27. i. Thomas Brooke,[7] b. 30 April 1706; d. 1749.
28. ii. Walter Brooke, b. 29 Dec. 1707; d. 9 March 1740/1.
iii. Mary Brooke, b. 8 Oct. 1709; mar. Peter Dent (b. 1694; d. 1757) of Pr. George's Co.

iv. Anna Brooke, b. 16 June 1711; mar. . . . . Harris.
v. Nathaniel Brooke, b. 1 March 1712.
vi. Lucy Brooke, b. 10 Oct. 1714; d. 12 May 1718.
29. vii. Richard Brooke, b. 2 June 1716; d. 13 July 1783.
viii. Eleanor Brooke, b. 7 March 1718; mar. Col. Samuel Beall (d. 1778) of Frederick Co.
ix. Rachel Brooke, b. 12 Aug. 1719; d. unmarried 1789.
x. Lucy Brooke, b. 10 April 1721; mar. John Estep (d. 1766) of Charles Co.
xi. Isaac Brooke (twin), b. 22 Jan. 1722; d. unmarried 1 Nov. 1756.
xii. Rebecca Brooke (twin), b. 22 Jan. 1722.
xiii. Elizabeth Brooke, b. 22 Sept. 1724; d. unmarried 1794.
xiv. Daniel Brooke, b. 5 May 1726; d. 8 Nov. 1735.
xv. Charles Brooke, b. 14 Sept. 1727; d. 21 Sept. 1727.
xvi. Robert Brooke, b. 25 Nov. 1728; d. unmarried 1777.
30. xvii. Clement Brooke, b. 1 Sept. 1730; d. 18 Nov. 1800.

18. Henry Brooke[6] (*Clement,*[5] *Thomas,*[4] *Robert,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]) of Prince George's Co., was born in 1704, and died in 1751. In a deposition his age is given as 37 years in 1741 (Chancery, I. R. No. 4, 419), and his will, dated 25 Sept. 1751, was proved 26 October following. By Margaret his wife he had issue:—

i. Henry Brooke.[7]
ii. Clement Brooke.
iii. John Brooke.
iv. Nicholas Brooke.
v. Jane Brooke.
vi. Mary Brooke.
vii. Ann Brooke, mar. . . . . Wade.
viii. Rachel Brooke, mar. . . . . Boarman.
ix. Susanna Brooke.

19. Clement Brooke[6] (*Clement,*[5] *Thomas,*[4] *Robert,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]) of Prince George's Co. died in 1732. In his will, dated 31 Aug. 1731 proved 30 Aug. 1732, he states that he is bound, with Mary his wife, on a voyage for London, and mentions his daughter Rachel and his "honored father Mr. Clement Brooke." Mrs. Mary Brooke, widow of Clement, married secondly Dr. Charles Neale of Frederick Co. and executed with him, in 1769, a deed of trust for the benefit of her daughter Rachel.

Clement Brooke and Mary his wife had issue:—

i. Rachel Brooke,[7] mar. Henry Darnall of Prince George's Co. Their daughter Mary Darnall married, 5 June 1768, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

20. James Brooke[6] (*Roger,*[5] *Roger,*[4] *Robert,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]) was born, according to family record, 21 Feb. 1705 and died 11 March 1784. He was married, 21 June 1725,

to Deborah, eldest daughter of Richard Snowden and Elizabeth (Coale) his wife. She died 29 April 1758. James Brooke and Deborah (Snowden) his wife had issue :—

i. James Brooke,[7] b. 26 Feb. 1730/1 ; d. 21 Aug. 1767 ; mar. Hannah Janney of Virginia, and left issue,
ii. Roger Brooke, b. 9 Aug. 1734 ; d. 7. Sept. 1790 ; mar. Mary Matthews, who d. 25 April 1808, and had issue.
iii. Richard Brooke, b. 8 July 1736 ; d. 2 May 1788 ; mar., 1758, Jane Lynn (d. 15 Sept. 1774) and had issue.
iv. Basil Brooke, b. 13 Dec. 1738 ; d. 22 Aug. 1794 ; mar., 1 May 1764, Elizabeth Hopkins (d. 17 Aug. 1794) and had issue.
v. Elizabeth Brooke, b. 22 March 1740/1 ; mar., 2 June 1761, Thomas Pleasants of Goochland Co., Va.
vi. Thomas Brooke, b. 8 March 1743/4 ; d. 11 June 1789.

An account of the descendants of James and Deborah (Snowden) Brooke is given in *The Thomas Book* (New York, 1896), p. 219 ff.

21. Roger Brooke[6] (*Roger,*[5] *Roger,*[4] *Robert,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]) of Calvert Co. was born 10 June 1714, and died in 1772. His will, dated 8 Feb. 1772 and proved 9 April following, mentions his wife Elizabeth and his children Roger, Basil, John, Elizabeth, Sarah, Bowyer, and Dorothy Brooke, and Monica Taney. According to the statements of his descendants Roger Brooke was twice married, 1° to Sarah Bowyer of Philadelphia, who died about 1745-46, and 2° to Elizabeth Boarman.

By his first wife, Sarah Bowyer, he had issue :—

i. Roger Brooke.[7] His will (dated 6 Jan., proved 16 Aug. 1776) names his wife Mary ; his daughter Sarah Brooke ; his brothers Basil and John Brooke ; and his kinsman Francis Brooke.
ii. John Brooke (twin), b. 1737 ; d. young.
iii. Bowyer Brooke (twin), b. 1737 ; d. 1815 ; mar. 1° Mary Browne, 2° Hannah Reese, and left issue.
iv. Sarah Brooke.
v. Anna Brooke.

By his second wife, Elizabeth Boarman, Roger Brooke had issue :—

i. Basil Brooke, b. 1748 ; mar. Anne dau. of James and Mary (Brown) Duke, and had an only child, Elizabeth Brooke (b. 31 Dec. 1780 ; d. 6 Oct. 1805), who mar. Dr. John Dare.
ii. Monica Brooke, b. 1752 ; mar. Michael Taney. Their son, Roger Brooke Taney (b. 1777 ; d. 1864) was Chief-Justice of the United States.
iii. Elizabeth Brooke.
iv. John Brooke, b. 1753 ; d. 1790 ; mar. Mary Wheeler and had two children, *a*) John James Brooke, b. 11 Aug. 1787 ; d. 16 March 1836 ; mar. 23 Oct. 1814 Juliet Duke and had issue, *b*) Harriet Brooke, b. Sept. 1789 ; mar. Dr. Ireland and d. s. p.
v. Dorothy Brooke.

For this account of the children of Roger Brooke, by his two wives, I am indebted to Mrs. Samuel T. Brown of Baltimore, Md., a granddaughter of John James Brooke (*John,*[7] *Roger*[6]).

22. Basil Brooke[6] (*Roger,*[5] *Roger,*[4] *Robert,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]) of Charles Co. was born 16 Nov. 1717 and died in 1761. His will, dated 14 May 1761, was proved 13 July following. He married Henrietta daughter of Raphael Neale of Charles Co. and Mary his wife, daughter of Baker Brooke.[4] Her mother, Mrs. Mary Neale, mentions in her will (dated 29 Sept. 1760, proved 24 May 1763) her "daughter Henrietta Brooke" and her "son-in-law Basil Brooke." Mrs. Henrietta Brooke died in 1774, leaving a will dated 27 June 1773 and proved 16 June 1774.

Basil Brooke and Henrietta (Neale) his wife had issue:—

i. Raphael Brooke.[7]
ii. Roger Brooke.
iii. James Brooke.
iv. Ann Brooke.

23. Basil Brooke[6] (*John,*[5] *Roger,*[4] *Robert,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]) of Charles Co. died in 1757. His will, dated 24 April 1755, was proved 8 March 1757. He married first Dorothy daughter of Michael Taney of Calvert Co., and secondly Sarah . . . . . Michael Taney, in his will dated 2 June 1743 and proved 24 March 1743/4, mentions his "daughter Dorothy Brooke" and his "son-in-law Basil Brooke," and the latter mentions his wife Sarah in his will.

Basil Brooke and Dorothy (Taney) his first wife had issue:—

i. Basil Brooke.[7]
ii. Michael Brooke.
iii. Mary Brooke.

24. Robert Brooke[6] (*Robert,*[5] *Robert,*[4] *Robert,*[3] *Thomas,*[2] *Richard*[1]) of Calvert Co. was born in 1692 and died in 1753. According to a deposition he was aged 37 years in 1729, and his will, made in 1748, was proved 15 Sept. 1753. He married Jane daughter of Cuthbert Fenwick of St. Mary's Co., who names in his will (proved 23 March 1729) his grandchildren Robert and Mary Brooke. Mrs. Jane Brooke survived her husband and died in 1759. Her will, dated 19 May 1758, was proved 21 March 1759.

Robert Brooke and Jane (Fenwick) his wife had issue:—

i. Robert Brooke.[7]
ii. William Brooke.
iii. Francis Brooke.
iv. Henry Brooke.
v. Charles Brooke.
vi. Mary Brooke, mar. Philip Fenwick.
vii. Sarah Brooke.
viii. Barbara Brooke.
ix. Jane Brooke.

(*To be Concluded.*)

NOTES.

Gov. Charles Calvert.—The parentage of Capt. Charles Calvert, Governor of Maryland 1720-1727, has never been ascertained. The following notes may possibly furnish a clue. 10 July 1701, Charles Lord Baltimore, "of our affection, speciall favour, certaine knowledge, and meer motion," grants to Mr. Charles Calvert Lazenby 1000 acres part of Portland Manor in Anne Arundel Co. (Lib. C. D., fol. 111). 10 Sept. 1709, Charles Calvert Lazenby of the Parish of St. James, Westminster, conveys to Henry Darnall of Prince George's Connty, in the Province of Maryland, 1000 acres part of Portland Manor (A. A. Co., Lib. P. K., fol. 191) and on the same date gives a power of attorney to William Holland and Samuel Chew of Anne Arundel County, Md., Esqrs., and Richard Harrison of the same place, merchant, to give possession of the lands (*ibid.* fol. 197). A little more than two months later, 27 Nov. 1709, Charles Calvert was gazetted Ensign in the First or Grenadier Guards, and was promoted, 4 Jan'y 1718, Lieutenant and Captain (Hamilton, *History of the Grenadier Guards*, iii, 442). 17 May 1720, Capt. Charles Calvert of His Majesty's First Regiment of Foot Guards, was appointed Governor of Maryland (State Paper Office, B. T., Maryland, i, 100). He held the office until 1727 when he was commissioned member of Council and served in this capacity until his death in 1733. He married, 21 Nov. 1722, Rebecca daughter of John Gerrard, Esq., of Prince George's County, and she died in January or February 1734/5 leaving two daughters, Anne and Elizabeth. Of these daughters, Anne seems to have died young, while Eliza-

beth married Benedict Calvert of Mt. Airy. The register of St. Anne's Parish, Annapolis, contains the following entry: "August 8th, 1722. Died Madam Margaret Lasenby Aunt to our present Governor Charles Calvert, Esq." She was apparently the wife of Henry Lazenby, High Sheriff of Anne Arundel County, who died 6 May 1723 (St. Anne's Register), intestate. Bond for the administration of his estate was filed, 10 June 1723, by William Holland and Samuel Chew, his administrators, in the sum of £2000 Sterling, with Philip Thomas and Stephen Warman as sureties (Test. Proc., Lib. 26, fol. 159). It is to be noted that the administrators are the same persons to whom Charles Calvert Lazenby gives a power of attorney for the sale of his land in 1709. Is it possible that Charles Calvert Lazenby, in the interval between 10 September and 27 November 1709, obtained a license to use the name of Calvert only, and that he is thus identical with Gov. Charles Calvert? Further evidence on this point is greatly to be desired.

Tilghman–Whetenhall.—A correspondent asks for the descent of Susanna Whetenhall, wife of William Tilghman (*Mag.* p. 182), from King Edward III. It is as follows:—King Edward[1] III, mar. Philippa of Hainault; Edmund[2] Duke of York (b. 1341; d. 1402) mar. Isabel of Castile (d. 1392); Constance Plantagenet[3] (d. 1416) mar., 1386, Thomas 6th Lord Despencer (b. 1373; d. 1400); Isabel Despencer,[4] sole daughter and heiress, mar., 1411, Richard Beachamp (b. 1397; d. 1422) Earl of Worcester; Elizabeth Beauchamp[5] (b. 1415; d. 1448) mar. Sir Edward Neville (d. 1476) Baron Abergavenny; Sir George Neville[6] (d. 1492) Baron Abergavenny mar. Margaret Fenne (d. 1485) daughter of Sir Hugh Fenne; Elizabeth Neville[7] mar. Thomas Berkeley (d. 1500) of Vyne Co. Southants; Alice Berkeley[8] mar. George Whetenhall (d. 1573) of East Peckham, Kent; Thomas Whetenhall[9] mar. Dorothy daughter of John Fane; Susanna Whetenhall[10] mar. William Tilghman (b. 1518; d. 1594). The earlier descents may be readily found in any peerage or encyclopaedia; for the later descents reference may be had to Smith's *Lives of the Berkeleys*, i, 354; Berry's *Hampshire Genealogies*, p. 209; Morant's *History of Essex*, i, 238, 245; ii, 514; and the Whetenhall pedigree in *Harleian MS.* No. 1548, fol. 121.

FENDALL (*Mag.* p. 76).—Mary Fendall, sister of Col. John Fendall, was born in 1673 and died in 1751. She married 1° John Theobald (b. 1666; d. 1713), and 2° Matthew Barnes (b. 1670; d. 1745), both of Charles County. Her will, dated 18 Oct. 1750, was proved 20 July 1751. By her first husband she had issue:—i. William Theobald, d. 1751, mar. and left issue, ii. John Theobald, b. Sept. 1692, d. young, iii. John Theobald, d. 1741, mar. Elizabeth dau. of Robert Mason of St. Mary's Co. and had, with other issue a son Samuel, ancestor of Dr. Samuel Theobald of Baltimore, iv. Mary Theobald, mar. . . . . Swann, v. Charity Theobald, living unmarried in 1750. By her second marriage, with Matthew Barnes, Mary Fendall appears to have had no issue.

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MARYLAND

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EARLY CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AMONG THE INDIANS OF MARYLAND.

Although no historian of Maryland has recorded the efforts of the early settlers to convert the aboriginal inhabitants of our State to Christianity, this Society possesses interesting documents of undoubted authenticity, which prove that at the commencement of the Colony, and for several years after, the most zealous and successful exertions were made in this pious enterprise.

The interesting history of the voyage and landing of the first settlers, and the description of the country and its native inhabitants, were written in Latin, by one of the Missionaries, who accompanied the Colonists, in the ship Ark, in 1633–4. This rare historical document was addressed to the Superior of the Jesuits, within a month after the arrival of our Pilgrims. The original was found among the archives of the Society of Jesus, at Rome, by the late Rev'd. Wm. McSherry, a native of Virginia; who transcribed it, together with extracts from various annual letters written by the Missionaries in Maryland in subsequent years to the Superior of their Society. It is to similar letters the world is indebted for the interesting work so well known by the title of *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses.* Our Society is indebted to Georgetown College for copies of the documents found in Rome by Rev'd. Mr. McSherry.

Although the name of the writer of the first tract—the *Narrative of the Voyage*—is not mentioned, I think it will appear, in the conclusion of these remarks, that Rev'd. Andrew White was the author. From these MSS. most of the matter for this essay has been culled; but the biographical sketches, as well as the contemporaneous history, have been collected from various reliable sources—which are quoted in the notes.

With the first Colonists of Maryland, came two Jesuit Priests, Fathers Andrew White and John Altham; and two lay brothers, or temporal coadjutors, as they are designated, of the same Society, whose names were John Knowles and Thomas Gervase.

Father White was born in London, about the year 1579. As, by the laws in force at that period, Catholics were denied the advantage of education in their own religion in England, he was educated at the English College at Douay, in Flanders; at which place he probably received ordination. He was a secular priest and returned to England very soon after being qualified for the ministry; for, we find his name in a list of forty-seven priests, who, in 1606, "were, from different prisons, sent into perpetual banishment."

In the following year, he applied for admission into the Society of Jesus, performed a novitiate of two years at Louvain, and again returned to England, where he labored as a Missionary for a few years.[2] As the penalty was death, to a priest who returned to England after banishment, his life was constantly in danger in that country. He was therefore recalled to the Continent, and sent to Spain as a tutor to English Catholic students, who received in two or three English Seminaries in that country, an education to qualify them for the sacred ministry in England. While in Spain, he filled the professorships of Scripture, Scholastic Theology, and Hebrew. He afterwards taught Divinity—first at Louvain, and then at Liège, in Belgium. He is described as "a man of transcendent talents."[3]

[1] Challenor's Memoirs, vol. 2, p. 14—Phila. edition.

[2] Historia Anglo Bavara S. J.

[3] Collections towards illustrating the biography of the Scotch, English, and Irish members, S. J., by Rev'd. Dr. Oliver, p. 222—London, 1845.

Applications having been made by Lord Baltimore, to the Superior of the Jesuits, for clergymen "to attend the Catholic planters and settlers, and to convert the native Indians" in Maryland, Oliver says, "the design was approved, and Father Andrew White was directed to prepare for that mission. Like a giant, he exulted to run his course; he arrived safely in March, 1634; and his successful zeal entitled him to the glorious title of the "Apostle of Maryland."[1]

Of the early life of Father Altham, we have no particulars. Some account of his meritorious labors, and of his death in Maryland, will constitute a portion of this essay. Before the site for the new Colony had been determined on, Father Altham accompanied Governor Calvert in his voyage of exploration of the Potomac River, and visited with him the great Chief of Piscataway, who is represented as superior to the other chiefs, and is sometimes styled Emperor. The Governor and his exploring party first landed on the Virginia side of the river, at Potomac-Town,[2] where the natives received them kindly, Here Father Altham explained to them the doctrines of the Christian Religion, by means of an interpreter—one of the settlers of Virginia. This fact, which is explicitly stated in our MS., is thus mentioned in that very rare book, "A Relation of Maryland," printed in London, in 1635. The Governor and his party, having landed "at Patowmeck-town, where, the werowance being a child, Archihau, his uncle, (who governed him and his country for him) gave all the company good welcome; and one of the company, having entered in a little discourse with him, touching the errors of their religion, seemed well pleased therewith, and at his going away, desired him to return againe, saying he should live with him, and his men should hunt for him, and he would divide all with him." Crossing the river, the Governor and his party ascended the Potomac, and landed at Piscataway, where they treated with the Emperor about settling in his country. After this, they returned to their companions, at St. Clement's Island, and the site being determined

[1] *Ibidem.*

[2] New Marlborough, or Marlboro' point, near Potomac Creek.

on, they founded the City of St. Mary's, on the east bank of the river, now called by that name. The two priests obtained, by the consent of its owner, one of the Indian huts or wigwams, for their own use; and, having fitted it up in the most becoming manner their circumstances allowed, they called it the "*first Chapel in Maryland.*" Here, they immediately applied themselves to the study of the Indian language, in which they found the difficulties much increased by the number of dialects used among the different tribes.[1]

The virtuous conduct, and gentle dispositions of the Indians, in the immediate vicinity of St. Mary's, encouraged the Missionaries to entertain hopes of the conversion of the natives generally to Christianity. But, in the second year of the colony, obstacles to their pious design were thrown in the way, which prevented them from extending their visits beyond the limits of the settlement. It was in the early part of the year 1635, that Captain Claiborne —whose name and exploits are so familiar to the students of the early history of Maryland—succeeded in exciting the suspicions of the Indians against the Maryland Colonists generally, and prejudices against their religion in particular.[2] Apprehensive of hostilities from the Natives, our Colonists confined themselves to St. Mary's, until the good will of the Indians was restored. A third Priest arrived from Europe in 1635, at which period the Missionaries declare in their letters that—

"But little can be said of this Mission, which has been but lately commenced. On account of the numerous difficulties which have occurred, the fruits, as yet, are scarcely appreciable, especially among the savages, with whose language we are, slowly, becoming acquainted. Five companions are here employed, three priests and two lay brothers, who joyfully sustain their present labors, in the hopes of future success."

In the year 1636, there were four priests, and one temporal coadjutor, on the Maryland Mission. Among our extracts, from the annual letters, we have none for the year 1637; and conse-

[1] Capt. Smith remarks the same difficulty.

[2] Oldmixon's Brit. Emp., vol. 1, p. 328; Bozman, II, p. 32.

quently have no account of the arrival of any Missionaries from 1636 to 1638. Tradition says, that a priest, named Thomas Copley, was one of the first Missionaries in Maryland. Some old records in the possession of the Jesuits, in this State, mention his name; and in an ancient MS. book, at the Novitiate in Frederick, the following is the first entry:

"*Catalogus Patrum Anglorum, &c., Pater White Andreas, primus Marylandiae Missionarius advenit huc circa* 1630, *ante Dominum Baltimori: Sacellum extruxit in White-neck, at non habebat domum. Obiit in Anglia,* 27*th Sept.*, 1655. *Vide Tanner Confess. Soc. pag.* 803 *et Fasti Soc. in hanc diem.*

P. STARKEY,
P. COPLEY,
P. FERRET,
P. PULTON."

As the period given in the above catalogue for the arrival of Father White—"*circa* 1630"—is not definite, it is evident that the entry cannot be relied on for precision as to dates. But it is probably correct in the names of Missionaries serving in Maryland, in the early years of the Colony. By the State records at Annapolis, it appears that a gentleman, named Thomas Copley, arrived in Maryland, and precisely in that year of which we have no missionaries' letters. In the oldest book in the Land Office, I find the following entry: "Thomas Copley, Esq., demandeth 4000 acres of land, due by conditions of plantation, for transporting into the province, himself and twenty able men at his own charge, to plant and inhabit, in the year 1637." *Liber No.* 1, *folio* 25. It is no objection to his identity with the Missionary of that name, that the record calls him "*Esquire*"; for, it would not have been safe at that period to have openly recognized a Catholic Priest by the title of "*Reverend*," and in the State records, we find a prudent caution in this respect, to avoid any public, or apparent disregard of the penal laws then in force in the mother country, against Catholic priests, and Jesuits in particular. In another book, in the same office, Mr. Copley's name appears in connection

with the names of Fathers White and Altham. This interesting record is in Liber 2, fo. 18 and 20, and is stated to be the "proceedings of the first Assembly held at Saint Mary's, 25th and 26th January, 1637." After recording the names of the members, the following are part of the proceedings:

"After, were summoned to appear, by virtue of writs to them directed Mr. Thomas Copley, Esq., of St. Mary's hundred, Mr. Andrew White, Mr. John Altham, Gent. of the same hundred. Robert Clerke, gent. appeared and made answer, that they desired to be excused from giving voices in this Assembly, and was admitted." In another place, Robert Clerke is designated as "servant to Mr. Copley." A proof that Mr. Copley was a Jesuit Priest, and engaged on Missionary duty in Maryland is found in this original letter, written in Liège, in 1640, by Robert Gray, a lay brother of the English province S. J., who was then applying to the Superior to be sent to Maryland. The portion of the letter which refers to the subject, is as follows: "Reverend Father; your reverence gave us to understand the last night, what desires those first Fathers of ours which was sent in Maryland mission hath of supplyes. I make bould in all submission to tell you what promise I made to *Father Copley at his going*, that after the death of Father Blount,[1] if I lived after him I would *come to him in Maryland*, provided I might be admitted."

By the above extracts from the proceedings of the first Assembly, it would appear, that the three priests, Fathers White, Altham, and Copley, had been summoned as members of the legislature, but that they were so unambitious of political power as to decline taking any part in public affairs. Our MSS. of 1638, mention the death of a priest, and of a lay brother. The former is described as a young man, from whom "on account of the excellent qualities of his mind and heart a great deal was expected." His name is not given, but I have no doubt he was the priest who arrived in 1635. John Knowles, the companion of Fathers White and Altham, was the lay brother.[2] He was much regretted by his

[1] He died in May, 1638. Oliver, p. 55.

[2] Oliver says he died in Maryland, on 24th September, 1637. Page 127.

brethren. As our extracts from the annual letters state that four priests were engaged on the Mission in Maryland, another must have arrived from Europe, that year. This gentleman, I presume, was the Father Pulton mentioned in the Frederick catalogue before referred to. This opinion is sustained by two entries in the Land office, viz: Liber I, fo. 18. "Came into the province 22d November, 1638, Mr. Pulton—Mr. Morley," and in folio 37, "Mr. Ferdinando Pulton demandeth land, &c., as assignee of Mr. Andrew White, John Altham," &c. The Mr. Morley, mentioned in connection with Mr. Pulton, was probably Walter Morley, a lay brother, of whom Oliver says: "he died in Maryland, 6th March, 1641." [1]

The King of the Patuxents, whose name was Mackaquomen, had shewn the most friendly disposition towards the Maryland Colonists, from their first arrival. And the people, dwelling upon the Patuxent, have been described by Captain Smith, as more civil and hospitable than any other Indians seen by him, when he first visited that river in 1608. It would also appear by his account, that the Patuxent country was more thickly inhabited than any other portion of Maryland which he visited. The nations or tribes of Indians named Acquintanacksuah, Patuxent, and Mattapanient, dwelt there in Smith's time. Mackaquomen is stated in our MSS., to have been possessed of great influence and authority among the savages. It was, therefore, considered of importance by our Missionaries to attempt the conversion of this prince and the numerous people on the banks of the Patuxent. With this view, Father White took his residence there, and employed himself diligently among the Indians near the mouth of that river. He had succeeded in the conversion of only six of these people, when Governor Calvert discovering some indications of hostile or unfriendly feeling, on the part of Mackaquomen towards the colonists, recalled Father White to Saint Mary's, lest his life or liberty should be endangered among the savages, in case of war.

The annual letter of 1638, after deploring the death of the priest, and a lay brother already mentioned, by the "prevailing

[1] Collections, p. 144.

disease of the Colony"—with which disease all the priests had been attacked—says: "The Governor of the Colony will not allow us to remain among the Savages; not only on account of the prevalent sickness, but also because of the hostility of the Indians" —who were thought to have formed a compact against the settlers —"nevertheless, we hope that in a short time one of us may succeed in getting a footing among the Savages." Friendly relations having been re-established in the beginning of 1639,[1] the Missionaries immediately improved the favorable circumstance by dispersing themselves among the Indians, in such places as seemed to be most favorable for the general diffusion of Christianity. The annual letter of 1639, says: "Four priests and one co-adjutor are employed in this Mission. Settled in places widely distant, they thus hope to acquire a knowledge of each neighboring idiom, and consequently to spread more widely the holy truths of the gospel."

The names of these priests were John Brock, who was superior of the mission, Andrew White, John Altham, and Philip Fisher. Of their characters and the scenes of their pious labors, the following brief sketch may not be without interest to the curious inquirer into our early history.

Father John Brock, (whose real name appears to have been Morgan)[2] took the station previously occupied by Father White, near the mouth of the Patuxent river, upon land which had been given to the Missionaries by the Indians. The station was called Mattapany, and as the land was afterwards relinquished to Lord Baltimore, I think it is the same on which he built his mansion near the mouth of the Patuxent,[3] the ruins of which are still to

[1] Bozman, II., p. 165.

[2] It often became a prudent precaution for the English Jesuits to assume a different name to evade the penal laws against Jesuit priests. Another reason for assuming a different name is thus given by a modern English writer: "From the time when the Catholic father was made liable to a fine of forty shillings per day, if he employed any but a Protestant tutor or schoolmaster to instruct his child, or of one hundred pounds if for the sake of Catholic education, he sent his child beyond the sea, it had grown into a custom for the young man, on his admission into a foreign Seminary, to assume a feigned name, that he might not, by the retention of his real name, bear testimony to the legal delinquency of his parent."

[3] Oldmixon, Vol. 1, p. 337.

be seen. Mattapany was the store-house of the mission, from which supplies were furnished to the other Missionary stations. And during a scarcity in the year 1640, in consequence of a drought in the preceding year, the Missionaries distributed bread to the Indians.

Father Altham was stationed on Kent Island, which was then considered a place of great importance for commerce with the various tribes, who had been accustomed to resort thither, before the arrrival of the Maryland Colony, in consequence of Claiborne having made it a place of trade, as early as 1631. In his petition to Charles I. in 1637–8, he stated that by means of his settlement on this Island, and Palmer's Island, at the mouth of the Susquehanna, he "was in great hopes to draw thither the trade in beavers and furs which the French then wholly enjoyed *in the grand lake of Canada.*"[1] In 1638 it had a population of one hundred and twenty, and sent two delegates to the Assembly. The Isle of Kent, as it was then called, was thus an admirable station for a Missionary, on account of its opportunities for intercourse with the Indians of various tribes who visited it, and for the facilities it afforded for making excursions to their villages, which were generally on the banks of the rivers emptying into the Chesapeake Bay.

Father Philip Fisher, who arrived in Maryland probably two or three years later than Fathers White and Altham, had charge of the mission at St. Mary's City in 1639; further notice of him will occur hereafter.

The King of Piscataway, whose name was Chitomacon, had been represented to be a chief of great power, who exercised authority over several of the neighboring chieftains. His capital, which was called Kittamaqundi, was probably at or near the present village of Piscataway, about fifteen miles south of our City of Washington. As soon after his recall from Patuxent as he could be permitted to leave Saint Mary's, Father White determined to visit Kittamaqundi, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to the Piscataway and neighboring Indians, and arrived there in June,

[1] Bozman, II., p. 70.

1639. He was cordially received by the king, and entertained by him, with great hospitality. Father White explained to the king and his family, as well as many of his tribe, the truths of the Christian religion; and his instructions were received in the most grateful manner. He succeeded in persuading the Indians to dress with more modesty than they had used to do; and induced the king to content himself with one wife. The example and instructions of Father White, produced in this interesting savage the most favorable sentiments towards the Christian religion. In reply to the governor, who explained to him the advantages the Indians might derive from trade with the English—he said, "he considered that but slight gain in comparison with the treasure received from the Fathers, in the knowledge of the true God: which knowledge," said he, "is now, and always shall be the chief object of my wishes." At a general meeting of his own tribe, and in the presence of several chiefs, and some Englishmen, he avowed his determination, and that of his family, to abjure their superstitions and to pay homage to Christ; declaring there was no true God but that of the Christians, nor any other name by which the immortal soul could be saved from ruin. Chitomacon accompanied Father White in a visit to St. Mary's, where his conduct was exceedingly edifying. And he there solicited baptism; but Father White preferred to postpone the sacred rite until his return among his own people, when his family and such others as were prepared, might unite with him. The day appointed was 5th July, 1640, and great preparations were made for the occasion. Many respectable people from St. Mary's together with the Governor's Secretary, and Father Altham from Kent Island, assembled at Piscataway. The following extracts from a letter written by Father Brock—(lately mentioned as the superior of the Mission of Maryland, who resided at Mattapany on the Patuxent)—appeared in the *Catholic Spectator*, published in London in 1824. As this letter is entirely to our purpose, and corroborates the statements in our MSS., I have copied all that I find in the publication.

[1] "Since my last letter, written in the course of the preceding

[1] Extract of a letter written by Father John Brock, S. J., the Superior in Maryland, and dated May 3rd, 1641.

year, it has pleased Divine goodness to open the way to the conversion of many, I trust, thousands of souls, by calling to the Orthodox Faith, the Emperor or Great King of Pascataway: for he has many kings subject to his power. He was baptised on 5th July, 1640. His former name, Chitomacon, was changed into Charles, on the occasion: and his Queen was baptized at the same time by the name of Mary; with an infant at the breast, who was christened Ann. The King's principal councillor, Mosorcoques, was baptized at the same time, by the name of John; and his infant son was christened Robert. The ceremonies were performed in the presence of the Governor's Secretary, and of Father Altham, and of many others of the English Colony, by Father Andrew White, at Pascataway in a chapel made in the Indian fashion, of the bark of trees, and erected expressly for this occasion. Very many would have followed the Emperor's example, and been admitted to the sacred Font, if Fathers White and Altham had not been attacked by sudden illness and necessitated, for the recovery of their health, to leave the country for St. Mary's town, in the English Colony. There Father Altham departed this life on the 5th November; his companion, by frequent relapses, was, for some time, prevented from resuming his Missionary labors; but finding himself somewhat convalescent, he returned with me last February, to cultivate the vineyard. Soon after his arrival in the country, he suffered another relapse, and has not yet recovered his strength. Considering his age and infirmities, I fear he must soon sink under his accumulated labors. He has engaged the affections of the natives, and possesses a superior knowledge of their language: several are now instructed to receive baptism, and many of the better sort show themselves well disposed towards the Christian Faith. A few months ago the King of Pascataway sent his daughter, the heiress of his dominions, to St. Mary's town, to be educated amongst the English, and prepared for baptism."

Father Brock then enlarges on the difficulties and privations which the Missionaries had to suffer in their Apostolical career, but expresses the most unbounded confidence in the protection of a kind Providence. He adds, in the sequel: "In whatever manner it shall please the Divine Majesty to dispose of us, may his

will be accomplished. For my part, I would rather, laboring in the conversion of these Indians, expire on the bare ground, deprived of all human succor, and perishing with hunger, than once think of abandoning this holy work of God from the fear of want; God grant that I may render him some service: the rest I leave to his Providence. The King of Pascatoway has lately died most piously. God, we trust, will raise up other seed in his place, by means of the neighboring King, Anacoston, who has invited me and is determined to be a Christian. Several others, in various places, profess the same desire. We have great hopes of a plentiful harvest of souls, if laborers are not wanting, that know the language and enjoy good health."

"Within five weeks after this magnanimous sentence, viz.: 5th June, 1641, Father Brock sunk under the accumulation of fatigues and privations, and passed to immortality." [1]

The Missionaries in Maryland wrote to their brethren in Europe favorable accounts of their prospects in 1639–40. Referring to their invitation from Anacoston and Mosorcoques, our Missionaries write, in the latter year, as follows:

"From which we may safely conclude, that a harvest is placed within our reach, the labor of which will be richly repaid with fruit. The greatest fear is, that we shall not have laborers enough to collect so abundant a crop. There are also other neighboring towns, which, doubtless, were the word of God preached to them, would willingly, and with joy, embrace the light of the Gospel; but lest we might seem to desert our little flock too soon, we are obliged to desist from extending our labors to others. Let not those who may be sent to our assistance, fear that they will be destitute of the necessary supports of life. For he who clothes the lily of the valley, and feeds the birds of the air, will not suffer those engaged in extending his heavenly kingdom to want the necessary supplies."

That their appeals excited the sympathies of their European brethren, will appear by the following extracts of letters from the Superior of the Society:

[1] Oliver, p. 60.

"To Father Andw. White, Maryland.

"15th October, 1639.

"The zeal of your reverence for the conversion of souls as expressed in your reverence's letter, has afforded me infinite delight. I anticipate with great interest, receiving the history of the Mission erected by your reverence, and I doubt not that it will be of service in stimulating *the spirits of many to similar exertions.*"

"To Father Jno. Brock, Superior in Maryland.

"15th September, 1640.

"I have received the communication of your reverence, bearing date the second of May; and I cannot convey to you, an adequate idea of the pleasure which I derived from it. My mind is so completely taken up with that Mission of yours, that there is nothing which I desire more earnestly than to receive news of its progress as frequently as possible; and I put so much confidence in the diligence of your reverence, that I hope the news will always be good. The hints of your reverence concerning the establishment of four stations, your information with regard to the kindness of the Prince of the Aborigines, his inclination towards baptism, and your hope of a plentiful harvest, have been subjects of no ordinary rejoicing. The hope of establishing a college, which you hold forth, I embrace with pleasure; and shall not delay my sanction to the plan, when it shall have reached maturity."

In a historical memoir of the first establishment of the Catholic religion in the United States written by the late Abp. Carroll, about 1790–1, he remarks:

"About the year 1640, some design appears to have been formed for carrying the gospel amongst the native Indians. For I find by some papers in my possession, that in this year, the Provincial of the English Jesuits, wrote a letter of exhortation to the young Jesuits at Liège, inviting them to offer their services for this perilous and laborious undertaking. In consequence of this invitation, upwards of twenty solicited with the most fervorous

language to be sent; but I do not find that anything farther was done in the business, which I doubt not, was owing to the jealousy the neighboring Protestants of Virginia had now conceived, at the superior credit which the Catholics enjoyed amongst the Indians. Add to this, that in the same year, 1640, the troubles began in England, which ended in the dethronement and beheading of Charles I., in 1648; the virulence of the prevailing party in England against Catholics, and their jealousy of every enterprise for the increase of true religion, made it necessary to forbear from any further communication with the Indians; for as the spirit of the times was, it would have been said, certainly, that the Indians would be brought down by the priests and papists to murder all the Protestant inhabitants."

I have now before me the original letters of twenty-three Jesuits of the English province, soliciting to be sent upon the Maryland Mission, in terms of the most edifying self-devotion. They are all dated in July and August, 1640, and most of them are written from Liège, where the English Jesuits had an establishment. A short extract from one of these letters will show the zeal with which the provincial Father Edward Knott, encouraged this Mission, as well as the ardor of his subjects to be employed here.

"Reverende in Christo Pater.

"Pax Christi—I had no sooner heard the relation of the happy success of our Mission in Maryland, and the great hopes of converting souls to their Lord and Creator, but I was surprized with no small joy and comfort, which, nevertheless, was but little, compared with that which I received, when I read those sweet and no less comfortable lines with which your Reverence invited not any one in particular, but all in general, to employ their lives and labors in the undertaking of so glorious an enterprize of converting souls to God by means of that Mission. And to tell you the truth, my joy was so great, that no thought nor word for a long while could come from me which resounded not Mariland. The cause of my joy was the hopes I conceived of being so happy as to be one of those who would consecrate themselves to so noble an employment. *Nec vana spes* as I hope; since I doubt not it

is the will of Almighty God, for having commended the matter unto Him, for some days, I still found the same desire I had in the first hour. If your Reverence desireth to know yet farther the joy which was caused in me by this happy niews, I cannot express it better, than by saying that it hath binne like an ocean able to drowne all other sorrows and crosses which by reason of troublesome times might have no small part in me."

As the letter is long, I will omit all that follows, except the conclusion.

"I would willingly demaund your Reverence his councell in one thing, and it is by what meanes I may gett my portion of those temporall goods which by right are due unto me. I would be willing to give all to the furthering of our mission. The surest way weare to procure some friends to speak to my father. Peradventure my step-mother who is my Lord Montigue his Aunt will be able to effect it. I leave all to your Reverence his disposing.

LAWRENCE WORSLY."

"The 26 of July 1640."

One of the successful candidates for the Maryland Mission, at that time, was Rev'd Roger Rigbie. The following is his letter of application:

"Reverende in Christo Pater.

Pax Christi—I had thought to have petitioned for a favour at your Reverence's last being here; but your sudden and indeed to me unknown departure prevented me. Howsoever, I hope it was not without God Almighties particular providence, that I might more maturely deliberate of so waightie a matter, before I proposed it. My request is only to entreate the happines to be made partaker of that happie Mission of Mariland. 'Tis true, I conceive this Mission not only happie and glorious; but withall hard and humble, in regard of the raw state things as yet are in; yet the love of Jesus neyther feares labour nor low imployment. Your Reverence's letter inkindled in my mind a great desire of this voyage, renewed former good purposes to that effect, and made me in fine resolve upon it. This resolution hath bin verie much

strengthened this tyme of Holy Exercises, both in prayer, Holy Masse, and other occasions, which I have taken to deliberate of this point. I confesse the deliberation hath bin long, and the resolution, I fear will come late both for others speedier petitions, and the tyme of the yeare: neverthelesse not alwaies first come, first sped, sometymes novissimi become primi; and being neare at hand, I confide, I may bee readie in due tyme for that voyage the next opportunitie. Besydes, though others farr better deserving, and more able to found that new spiritual plantation, will have alreadie presented themselves, yet I should be glad to ioyne my meanest endeavours with theire best; and the little experience I have had, gives me good hopes, that my health and strength will be able to break through occurrent difficulties, and accompanie others in their greatest labours. I feare I have hindered your more serious thoughts too long, wherefore in a word, I leave the matter wholly to your prudent charitie, desiring you would freely dispose of me, as you iudge best. If you bee alreadie furnished with workmen, it may bee you will want the next spring to provide for a new harvest, then you know where to find one. Thus with my dutiful respects, and best wishes I humbly craue part of your Holy Sacrifices, and rest this 31, of July 1640.

your Reverence's humble seruant in Christ,

Roger Rigbie."

This Father was stationed at Patuxent, in 1642. He was born in London in 1608, and was about 33 years of age when he arrived in Maryland. Our MSS. say that he was so successful in acquiring the Indian language, as to have been able to compose a short catechism in it. He was confined to his bed, by severe indisposition for three months, and is stated to have died in Virginia, in 1646.[1]

Father White continued to reside at Piscataway, until 1642, occasionally visiting Saint Mary's. Returning from one of these visits in the winter, he was detained by the ice, nearly opposite Potomac town, in Virginia—the place visited by the Governor and Father Altham, in their first exploring voyage. By walking over

[1] Oliver, p. 180.

the ice, Father White reached the town, where he remained several weeks, preaching and instructing the natives. The annual letter of 1642, says: "During a detention of nine weeks at Potomac town, his spiritual gain in souls fully compensated for the delay. For, during that time, there was an accession to the church, of the chief of the town, with the principal inhabitants. Also a chief of another tribe, with many of his followers; a third, with his wife, son and one of his people; and a fourth chieftain, with a companion of high rank among his own people. By these examples, his whole tribe was prepared to embrace the faith, as soon as we could find time to impart to them the necessary instructions."

Soon after this period, the young Queen of Piscataway, as Chitomacon's daughter was called, was baptized at St. Mary's, where she had been educated; and she then understood the English language pretty well.

The Missionaries were very successful in another quarter, of great importance. This was the Indian town of Potopaco—the site of Port Tobacco, the capital of Charles county. Nearly all the native inhabitants of this place embraced Christianity, to the number of 130, including the young Queen, and the wife and two children of the former principal chief. This fertile district, embraced by the great bend of the Potomac river, being favorably situated for intercourse with the neighboring Indians, who were very numerous, the Missionaries determined on establishing a residence there. This they were more inclined to do, because of interruptions at Piscataway, from the Susquehannock Indians. In consequence of hostilities from the Nanticokes, the Wicomeses, and the Susquehannocks, these tribes were declared to be enemies to the province, and great apprehensions were felt by the Colonists. In 1642, "a march against the Indians" was ordered, and a fort erected at Piscataway. It is worthy of observation, that our MSS. state that the Susquehannocks, about whose history there is so much obscurity, had taken up their residence upon the banks of the Potomac, near Piscataway.[1] This fierce and truculent tribe,

[1] They were still there in 1675, as appears by a letter written in 1705, formerly in the possession of Mr. Jefferson, and now in the Library of Congress—entitled

who are described as very hostile to the Christians, had made an attack upon one of the settlements, murdered the men, and carried off the property they found there. As the Colony was feeble in numbers, and some internal dissensions amongst the English settlers prevented the prosecution of vigorous measures against the Indians, it was deemed most prudent to withdraw Father White from Piscataway. The Missionaries in 1642 made many excursions up the Patuxent river.

They thought these excursions best suited to the then disturbed state of the country. Among their converts, were the young Queen of Patuxent-town, and her mother. In their letter of this year, they thus describe their excursions:—

"We sail in an open boat—the Father, an interpreter, and servant. In a calm or adverse wind, two row and the third steers the boat. We carry a basket of bread, cheese, butter, dried roasting ears of corn, beans and some meal, and a chest containing the sacerdotal vestments, the slab or altar for mass, the wine used in the holy sacrifice, and blessed baptismal water. In another chest we carry knives, hoes, little bells, fishing hooks, needles, thread, and other trifles, for presents to the Indians. We take two mats: a small one to shelter us from the sun, and a larger one to protect us from the rain. The servant carries implements for hunting, and cooking utensils. We endeavor to reach some Indian village or English plantation at night-fall. If we do not succeed, then the Father secures our boat to the bank, collects wood and makes a fire, while the other two go out to hunt; and, after cooking our game, we take some refreshment, and then lie down to sleep round the fire. When threatened with rain, we erect a tent, covering it with our large mat. Thanks be to God, we enjoy our scanty fare and hard beds as much as if we were accommodated with the luxuries of Europe; while the consolation we find in the promises

"The beginning, progress and conclusion of Bacon's rebellion in Virginia, in the year 1675 and 1676." The writer of this letter says, "The Susquehannocks were newly driven from their habitations at the head of Chesepiack Bay, by the Cinela Indians, down to the head of Potomac, where they sought protection under the Pascataway Indians, who had a fort near the head of that river, and also were our friends."

of God, to those who labor faithfully in his service, and the watchful care he seems to have of us, gives us strength to bear up against difficulties, so much so, that it is surprising that we are able to accomplish what we do."

Our extracts from the Missionaries' letters, mention the arrival of two more assistants from England, in 1642, and are then interrupted until 1654. We have seen, that up to the former date, the Gospel had been preached to the Indians with success, not only at the Capital of the Province, but at Kent Island, in the Chesapeake Bay, at Piscataway and at Port Tobacco, on the Maryland side of the Potomac, and at Potowmeck-town, on the Virginia side of that river; at Mattapany, and Patuxent-town, on the Patuxent River; besides, in many other places, which were visited by the Missionaries, in their aquatic excursions. By the interruption of our annual reports, we are left to trace out these Missions and their founders from other sources.

It was in the beginning of 1644, that Ingle's, or Claiborne and Ingle's rebellion occurred; and, in 1645, they succeeded in driving the Governor and many of his adherents out of the province. The Governor took refuge in Virginia, and was not restored to his province and authority until August, 1646. The fate of the Missionaries is thus stated in our MSS. "A body of soldiers, or rather lawless brigands, who arrived in 1645, laid waste, destroyed, and fired the whole Colony. Having driven the Governor into exile, they *carried off the priests, and reduced them to a miserable slavery.*" The MSS. in the State Library, at Annapolis, known as the Ridout papers, say "they burnt the records. This rebellion was not suppressed for more than two years. The loyal inhabitants were plundered, and many of them banished by this band of ruffians. The rebels increased fast, and very few could be persuaded to make resistance against them." Mr. McMahon says, "One of the results of Claiborne and Ingle's rebellion, as it is called, was the destruction or loss of the greater part of the records of the province; and those which remain to us, neither show us in what manner this rebellion was fomented, and accomplished its triumph, nor give us any insight into the conduct and administration of the confederates, whilst they held the rule of the province.

From Claiborne's known character as an adherent to the Parliament, and the fact of Ingle's previous flight from the province as a proclaimed traitor to the King, it seems probable that the insurrection was carried on under the name and for the support of the Parliament cause. The records of that day inform us only, that it commenced in the year 1644; that early in the year 1645, the rebels were triumphant, and succeeded in driving the Governor, Leonard Calvert, from the Province to Virginia; and that the government of the Proprietary was not restored until August, 1646. If the representations made by that government, after its restoration, be correct, the administration of these confederates, during their ascendancy, was one of misrule, rapacity, and general distress to the Province; and this seems quite probable, from the fact of their early expulsion from it, notwithstanding the triumphs of the Parliament party in England. Their dominion is now remembered only because it is identified with the loss of the greater part of the records of the Province before that period."[1]

From the biographical department of Dodd's History, we gather the following particulars of Father White:

"He was sent over prisoner into England, together with two other Missionaries of the same order, who endured very great hardships in London, during their confinement. At last he was sent into banishment, earnestly requesting of his superiors that he might have the liberty, once more, to visit Maryland. But it could not be obtained. However, he returned back into England, and after about ten years, died September 29, 1655, near 80 years of age. He was endowed with all the qualifications of an Apostolic Missioner, humility, patience, and zeal. His works are, 1st: A Grammar of the Indian Language. 2d. A Dictionary of the same language. 3d. A Catechism in the same language. 4th. A History of Maryland."[2] Oliver adds a fifth to these works of Father White's, a History of his Voyage to Maryland. As it appears, there were but two priests among the first settlers who

[1] History of Maryland, p. 202.

[2] Dodd's Eng. Church History, Vol. 3, Bk. II, Art. VI., p. 313, Dodd refers to Diary of Douay Coll. Nat. Southwell Bibl., Script. Societ. Jesu., p. 60.

arrived in Maryland, in the ship Ark, and pinnace Dove ; and as the author of our MS. account of the voyage, (copied by Rev. Mr. McSherry, from the original in Rome,) states that he (the author) remained at St. Clement's Island, while Father Altham went with Gov. Calvert, to explore the Potomac, I think there can be no doubt that Father White was the author of our narrative. Mr. McSherry informed me that he had also found in Rome, in connection with this document, a MS. Catechism of the Indian language. What an invaluable acquisition to the learned, who have been engaged of late years, in researches in the history and languages of the American Indians, would be the Grammar and Dictionary of Father White. Mr. Gallatin, in his elaborate and scientific "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes," remarks: "We have no remnant, whatever, of the language of the Susquehannocks." The Dictionary of the Abnaquis language, composed by the celebrated Father Rale, (or Rasle,) a Jesuit Missionary in Maine for many years, has been esteemed one of the most valuable contributions to the collections on the subject of Indian philology. The original MS. is carefully preserved in the Library of Harvard College.[1] Dr. C. Francis, in his life of Father Rale, remarks: "One can scarcely look at this important manuscript, with its dingy and venerable leaves, without associations of deep interest with those labors, and that life in the wilderness, of which it is now the only memorial. Students of the Indian dialects have most justly considered it a precious contribution to the materials of philological science."[2] Not less interesting, and even more precious would be the dictionary and grammar, composed by Father White, under similar circumstances to those of Father Rale. Possibly these memorials of our ancient native tribes, may yet be found in the archives of the Jesuits at Rome, or in the collections of the English province of the same Society at Stonyhurst College, in England.

[1] After having attracted the attention and commendation of the learned, both in Europe and America, the Dictionary was printed in 1833, in the 1st Vol., new series, of the memoirs of the American Academy.

[2] Sparks's American Biography, Vol. 17, new series VII.

Oliver, who differs from Dodd as to the date of Father White's death, furnishes, also, some further particulars of the latter part of his life, in these words: "After ten years of accumulated labors and services to the colony, Father White was seized by some of the English invaders from Virginia, the avowed enemies of civil and religious liberty, and carried off a prisoner to London. At length he was sentenced to banishment. Thirsting for the salvation of his dear Marylanders, he sought every opportunity of returning secretly to that Mission; but every attempt proving ineffectual, he was content to devote his remaining energies to the advantage of his native country. In his old age, even to the end, he continued his custom of fasting on bread and water twice a week. Whilst a prisoner, he was reminded by his keeper to moderate his austerities, and to reserve his strength for his appearance at Tyburn. 'You must know,' replied Father White, 'that my fasting gives me strength to bear any kind of sufferings for the love of Jesus Christ.' This truly great and good man died peaceably in London, not 27th Sept'r., 1655, (as Southwell relates, p. 60, Biblioth.,) but 27th December, 1656, O. S., or 6th Jan'y., 1657, N. S. From the comparison of various documents, I believe he was in his 78th year, at the time of his death. He was the author of a Grammar, Dictionary and Catechism in the Indian language, and of his voyage, *with a history of Maryland.*"[1]

It is probable that Father Fisher was one of the Missioners sent to England, a prisoner with Father White. It is certain that he returned to his labors here, as will appear by the subjoined letter, addressed by him to Father Vincent Caraffa, the general of the Society of Jesus, at Rome. In the interesting narrative of Father Jogues, the celebrated Jesuit Missionary to the Mohawks, he states that when in New York, in 1643, he heard the confession of an Irish Catholic from Virginia, who informed him "there had been members of his Society in Virginia, but one of them accompanying a party of Indians into their wilds, in his endeavors to convert them, was attacked and killed, by another party of Indians

[1] Collections, pp. 221 and 222.

hostile to the first."[1] This martyr to his zeal, must have been one of the Missionaries from Maryland.

Believing the letters of the various applicants for employment on the Mission of Maryland—to which I have referred in the course of these remarks—would form an appropriate portion of our collections, I have procured fair and literal copies to be made by an obliging young friend, which are appended to this essay. The originals, now before the society, belong to Georgetown College; and to the obliging gentlemen of that Institution, I am indebted for the use of them, as well as the memoir written by Abp. Carroll, and several of the books which I have quoted.

With the following letter, which I find in Oliver's collection, pp. 91 and 92, I shall conclude this imperfect sketch.

"Our very Reverend Father in Christ.

"At length my companion and myself reached Virginia, in the month of January, after a tolerable journey of seven weeks. There I left my companion, and availed myself of the opportunity of proceeding to Maryland, where I arrived in the course of February. By the singular providence of God, I found my flock collected together, after they had been scattered for three long years; and they were really in more flourishing circumstances than those who had oppressed and plundered them: with what joy they received me and with what delight I met them it would be impossible to describe, but they received me as an Angel of God. I have now been with them a fortnight, and am preparing for the painful separation: for the Indians summon me to their aid, and they have been ill-treated by the enemy, since I was torn from them. I hardly know what to do, but I cannot attend to all. God grant that I may do his will for the greater glory of his name. Truly, flowers appear in our land: may they attain to fruit. A road by land, through the forest, has just been opened from Maryland to Virginia; this will make it but a two days journey, and both countries can now be united in one Mission. After Easter,

[1] Relation de ce qui s'est passé, &c., en 1643, published at Paris in 1645. The same statement is in Creuxius' Hist., Canadensis—in the Baltimore Library.

I shall wait on the Governor of Virginia[1] on momentary business; may it terminate to the praise and glory of God. My companion, I hope, still lies concealed, but I trust, will soon commence his labor under favorable auspices. Next year I will expect two or three other colleagues, with the permission of your paternity, to whose prayers and sacrifices I earnestly commend this Mission, myself and all mine. Dated from Maryland, this 1st March, in the year of the Lord, 1648. I remain &c., your most unworthy servant and son in Christ.

PHILIP FISHER."

A MARYLAND LOYALIST.

In the preface to the "Loyalists of America," by Sabine, he says: "Of the reasons which influenced, of the hopes and fears which agitated, and of the miseries and rewards which awaited the Loyalists, or as they were called in the politics of the times the Tories, of the American Revolution, but little is known. The reason is obvious. Men who, like the Loyalists, separate themselves from their friends and kindred, who are driven from their homes, who surrender the hopes and expectations of life, and who become outlaws, wanderers and exiles,—such men leave few memorials behind them."

What was true fifty years ago, still holds good as far as the Loyalists are concerned; but there is not the same harsh judgment meted out to them in these later days, and people have learned to know that there were some among even the hated Tories, who were acting from principles as well grounded and as steadily followed as were those of the Patriots.

A few scattered letters, a few extracts from newspapers of the times and official records may throw some light, on the ideas and actions of the men of the past, and it is hoped that in these pages,

[1] Sir Wm. Berkeley.

we may be able to show how one man, who was in the beginning an earnest patriot, ended his days as an exile.

Robert Alexander was a lawyer in Baltimore, and in common with nearly all of his profession, in Maryland, was from the beginning of the troubles which ended in the breaking out of the Revolution a steady and unwavering supporter of the rights of the Colonists, on the ground of their being entitled to those rights by the Constitution and Laws of Great Britain.

He appears in 1766, as one of the Sons of Liberty, an association formed for the protection of American liberty and for compelling the officers throughout the State to transact business without the use of stamped paper,—in which they were entirely successful—for in March 1766, the Stamp Act was repealed by Parliament.

A few years later or in 1769, we find him a member of the Association formed to prevent the importation and use of goods from Great Britain, and still later a member of all Associations and Committees for the purpose of resisting the encroachments of the Crown and Parliament.

When the news of the Boston Port Bill reached Maryland, it was proposed that a Convention composed of Delegates from all the Counties should meet in Annapolis, and decide on the course to be adopted by the Colony. Robert Alexander was a Delegate to this Convention, which among other things advised the meeting of a Congress composed of Deputies from all the Colonies, and appointed Deputies from Maryland to meet those from the other Colonies and agree with them on some plan for the common defense of their rights.

After the adjournment of the Congress, another Convention met to hear the report of their Deputies, and of this and the succeeding Conventions Robert Alexander was a member. The Convention acquired more and more power, until it became the real Government of the Colony, although the old forms of Government were retained for more than two years from the time of holding the first Convention.

In July, 1775, a Committee of Safety was organized, to sit permanently and with very great powers and authority, although subordinate to the Convention.

This Committee was composed of sixteen members, of whom eight were from the Eastern and eight from the Western Shore. Robert Alexander was one of the members from the Western Shore, and continued to serve as one of this Committee—whose members were sometimes changed but never increased—until the end of the year, when he was chosen by the Convention a Deputy to the Congress then sitting in Philadelphia.

His correspondence while a member of the Congress, shows him to have been an intelligent and industrious member, serving on many important Committees and always attentive to everything connected with the carrying on of the war.

The subject of Independence began to be much discussed in and outside of Congress, towards the end of 1775, and the Convention of Maryland drew up a series of instructions for its Deputies. These Instructions were that they were to use their best efforts for a reconciliation with Great Britain, "taking care to secure the Colonies against the exercise of the right assumed by Parliament to tax them and to alter and change their charters, constitutions and internal policy without their consent," but that in no event were they to agree to, or unite in any treaty or confederation, which was likely to result in Independence, without the advice and consent of the Convention.

They were also to join the other Colonies in all military operations for the common defense.

When these instructions were received, Robert Alexander wrote from Philadelphia under date of 30th January, 1776:

"The instructions of the Convention are come to hand but are not yet laid before the Congress. I am much pleased with them. They entirely coincide with my Judgement and that line of conduct which I had determined to pursue. The Farmer, and some others to whom in confidence they were shown, say they breathe that Spirit which ought to govern all public Bodies—Firmness tempered with moderation."

"The Farmer" who is alluded to in this letter, was John Dickinson of Pennsylvania, who wrote a series of letters in 1767 in which he based the remedy for the wrongs of the Colonies on a "cultivation of a spirit of conciliation on both sides." These

letters were signed "A Farmer in Pennsylvania" and first appeared in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle.* Mr. Dickinson was a member of the Congress of Delegates from the Colonies which met in New York in 1764, and was soon recognized as a leader in the defense of the rights of his country; a position which he held unchallenged until the Declaration of Independence, which he opposed, and after which he "sank from the position of leader which he had had for twelve years, to that of a martyr to his opinions."

Towards the end of February Robert Alexander wrote again from Philadelphia: "I send a printed copy of Lord North's conciliatory act." "The last clause of this more than Diabolical list enables the King to appoint Commission to grant pardons and receive the submission of any province, County, Town or District. I shall make no comments on this act: it is only a further step in that system of Tyranny, hitherto pursued by that —— [so in the original] who under the influence of a Scotch Junto now disgraces the British Throne. What measures Congress may pursue in consequence of this I know not, but with me every idea of Reconciliation is precluded by the conduct of Great Britain and the only alternative absolute Slavery or Independence. The latter I have often reprobated both in public and private, but am now almost convinced the measure is right and can be justified by necessity." "Though my private business requires my presence in Maryland, I shall not leave this City until a sufficient number of my brethren arrive." He did not leave Philadelphia for some time, or until the beginning of June and it seems that his course in Congress was acceptable to the members of the Convention of Maryland, for when it met in May, Robert Alexander was again chosen as one of the Deputies to the Congress.

The Convention met in Annapolis on the 21st June and Mr. Alexander was not present, although it was known that he had returned from Philadelphia, and was then in or near Baltimore. A letter was written to him requesting his attendance, to which he answered on the 25th June: "Had my health permitted, I should have been at Annapolis the first of the meeting, but the wound in my ankle hitherto and still continues to disable me. Since last

Sunday week I have not been out of my house, and it is with difficulty and great pain, I can even walk from one room to another. In this situation I trust my absence will be thought excusable, for credit me, Sir, when I assure you that duty to my constituents and inclination both prompt me to join in the councils of my country, and more especially at this very interesting period."

The Convention adjourned on the 6th July and up to that time Mr. Alexander had not made his appearance; but still his colleagues do not seem to have seen any reason for supposing that there was any change in him, for on the last day of the Session, when they again chose Deputies to represent Maryland in the Congress, Robert Alexander was again chosen to sit until the next Convention should take action and chose new Deputies.

He never took his seat in Congress nor do we ever again find his name among those with whom he had been acting so earnestly for years.

It would seem that there was some cause of dissatisfaction with him, for on the 8th July, the Council of Safety wrote to him that they were "much at a loss in respect to the contracts made by you in Baltimore—they have written to you several times to transmit them but have never had the pleasure to receive them or a line from you on the subject. There is a real necessity for their being lodged here as some of the Artificers do not comply with their contracts and we are subject to two inconveniences: the ignorance of the real contract and the want of power to enforce it."

There was a long delay in sending in these papers, but they were received at last, and on the 16th September the Council of Safety wrote to Robert Alexander: "Your letter of 26 ulto., with the money and account enclosed we have received and are obliged to you for your care and trouble in liquidating them."

Before this letter was received by the Council of Safety there were many rumors about the loyalty of Robert Alexander, and among other things it was said that he had used reprehensible expressions in a speech made to the people at the close of the polls for Delegates from Baltimore to the Provincial Convention, August, 1776.

We hear no more of him for a year, or when the British fleet,

with the army of Sir Wm. Howe on board, appeared in the Elk River. Mr. Alexander had a considerable estate in Cecil County at the Head of Elk, and his house was on a part now covered by the town of Elkton.

Sir Wm. Howe landed without opposition, and marched leisurely towards Philadelphia, doing little damage in Cecil County, where the British had many friends.

Lord Howe with the fleet sailed on the 8th September, and several persons, including Robert Alexander, sailed with him. Of these, Mr. Alexander was the most conspicuous in every way, and the one who in consequence bore the most of the obloquy thrown upon those who, whatever their motives may have been, forsook the cause of the Colonies and joined their fortunes to those of the King and Parliament.

There were many rumors in regard to Mr. Alexander, and on the 30th September, Wm. Lux of Baltimore wrote to the Governor, Thomas Johnson, that "we are told R. Alexander is coming down here under a guard," but at that time he was still on board one of the vessels of Lord Howe's fleet. Indeed on the 5th November General Smallwood wrote that "Robert Alexander is still on the Fleet," as though there were some who did not think he had left Maryland not to return.

In the Stevens MSS. there is a letter from Joshua Johnson then in Europe, to his brother Thomas—Governor of Maryland—in which he says: we have news that "Sir William Howe landed in the Elk without opposition and has taken up his quarters at Bob Alexander's where Genl. Washington dined two days before."

For nearly a year he followed the fortunes of the English, vainly hoping that the struggle might end and he be permitted to return to his home and family, but his hopes were not realized, and it must have been sorrowfully that he wrote to Thomas Johnson, the Governor of Maryland, on the 22d June, 1778, from the Brig *Pomona* off Reedy Island, Delaware Bay:

"Sir, the Intimacy that once subsisted between us will, I expect, justify the Liberty I now take in addressing you a line, tho' the subject respects myself alone. I am exceedingly anxious to return to my Country from motives which your feelings will readily

suggest, but prudence forbids me to take this step without some assurance of my personal safety. You well know my sentiments and conduct in the public affairs of America, and appealing to him who is the Searcher of All Hearts, I can with Truth affirm, I still retain the same opinion. The favour, I have at present to ask is that of a Letter informing me of the Terms on which persons in my situation may return;—should this be inconsistent with the public Character you fill, I think there are some Gent. of my acquaintance to whom if they were made known, they would be communicated to me—if they are such as are not inconsistent with the feelings of a man of Honor, I shall most readily embrace them, and return immediately to my Country, my Family and Friends. At present I am bound to New York where I have some business entirely of a private nature, to settle with Mr. Chamier. I propose to return from thence in a Flag of Truce should you write me—may I request to be informed, if it would be improper to bring with me in the Flag some articles for my Family of which they must be greatly in want.

"I am with respect Your most ob^{dt} Servant

"Robert Alexander."

It may be that hope had died out, and at last he was convinced that there was but one solution of the question, and that was that the Colonies were Free and Independent States and would so remain. The Treaty with France had been concluded, and Philadelphia had been evacuated by the British, when that letter was written; so no doubt he had made up his mind that it was better for him to accept the fact of Independence and Separation, than to be an exile from home and friends with no career open to him, no bright future to look forward to as his reward for work well done, and no hope that he might again take his place in the world among his friends and associates.

But he was not to return to his home, but for the future was to follow the British Army, and in 1780, his property was confiscated with that of others who adhered to the cause of the

King. Two-thirds of his estate in Cecil County and one-half of his slaves were confiscated and sold, realizing about £6,000.

He made no other application for permission to return home, but wrote from New York asking permission to send some necessary articles to Mrs. Alexander and his children, by a flag of truce, should one be authorized.

He left New York in 1783, when it was evacuated by the British and went to England where he was appointed Agent for the Maryland Loyalists. In 1788 he joined with others in an address to the King thanking him "for his most gracious and effectual recommendations of their claims to the just and generous consideration of Parliament."

Of his life after this we know nothing. He died in London, and although the prospect of his early life was so brilliant, his latter days were spent far from home and friends, and like others of whom Sabine wrote, their "papers are scattered and lost, and their very names pass from human recollection."

TRINITY PARISH, CHARLES COUNTY, MARYLAND.

Trinity Parish, Charles County, Maryland, was created by the Assembly in 1744 (Chapter 24). It consisted of those parts of King and Queen Parish, and of All Faith Parish, which were in Charles Co., the boundaries being Zachiah Swamp, the Wicomico River, the St. Mary County line, the Patuxent River, and the Prince George County line, containing about 100 square miles.

The old "Newport Church" was then standing on Gilbert Swamp about three miles from Newport, and half a mile from the site of the present Parish Church. It is said to have been the original Parish Church of King and Queen, but became a chapel after the Church at Chaptico was built.

The Vestry appears not to have been organized until 1750, and the first rector, Rev. Isaac Campbell, presented his letter of induction from Governor Ogle, dated June 11, 1751, on the 16th of July in that year. He took "the prescribed oaths" before the "Worshipful John Winter," one of the Vestry, and on the 28th read publicly the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, and "thereunto declared his unfeigned assent and conviction." That same year the Parish purchased for 3,600 pounds of tobacco the Communion Plate, and a Surplice, also "a large gilt and Turkey leather folio Prayer Book" for £1, 11, 6, and a little later "a large marble basin" (font) for £5, 5 shillings and paid 2 shillings 2 pence for cutting 13 letters on it, probably "Trinity Parish." This is still used in the Church, but the other articles have disappeared.

There was some difficulty in the selection of a site for the new Church, but at a general meeting Oct. 14, 1751, the site of the present Church was selected, being in "the old field near Justinian Barron Junior's place," two acres being laid off and purchased for £3, 15 shillings. A copy of the deed, dated Aug. 13, 1753, is recorded in Book A, No. 1½ in the records of Charles Co.

The contract for the building was made Oct. 14, 1752, with John Ariss of Westmoreland Co., Virginia, for 54,250 pounds of tobacco and £200 in Virginia currency. The Church to be of brick, 55 x 30 feet, with a wing on the north, 22½ x 30 feet. The aisles to be of flagstones or tile, the pulpit canopy, reading desk, communion table, etc., to be of black walnut, and a pedestal 2½ feet high for the font, which is the only part of this Church now in existence except some of the old large bricks in the foundation of the present Church.

At the same time a brick vestry house was built 16 x 16, with "tyle" or flagstone floor, and a chimney, which continued standing for many years and was at one time used as a school house. It is said that William Wirt, afterwards Attorney General of the United States, who took part in the Aaron Burr trial, attended school here.

The question of how the pews were to be selected was one which caused much trouble, the old aristocracy claiming that since the English custom of recognizing rank had "in the providence of God" been recognized in this country, that the proposal to select pews by lot was not fitting; but at a meeting of the Protestant Freeholders, Oct. 23, 1765, it was decided that the selection should be by lot.

In 1756 the Church was completed, and the old Church on the Swamp torn down; the site can still be seen from the broken bricks.

A well was dug the next year for £25 Virginia currency, but paid for with 4000 pounds of tobacco.

The records of this period contain each year a list of the Bachelors of the Parish, with an estimation of the value of their estates.

Nov. 25, 1765, the Vestry decided to petition the Lower House of Assembly to levy 50,000 pounds of tobacco upon the taxable inhabitants of Trinity Parish, for the purpose of building a Chapel of Ease in Benedict Hundred. July 25, 1767, a contract was made with George Ross to build a brick Chapel 50 x 27 feet, the altar to be of pine 3 x 5½, with walnut balusters, the pulpit and reading desk to be of pine, and the canopy of black

walnut. Some of the present parishioners remember seeing this canopy lying about the yard after the Church had been remodeled. The Vestry accepted the Chapel May 6, 1769, and it is still as good a building as then, in spite of the many years.

July 7, 1772, a large Prayer Book was purchased for £2, 15 shillings, but it has disappeared. On May 13, 1776, the Vestry met at the Chapel to inspect the fence erected about the grounds, after which there is a break in the records until June 17, 1779, when the "Protestant inhabitants of Trinity Parish" met to choose vestrymen and wardens in accordance with "an act of the General Assembly made last session."

The former rector, the Reverend Isaac Campbell, was engaged at a salary of 16,000 pounds of tobacco, a list of 240 persons who contributed to his support being given in the old register. While 30 pounds of tobacco was the standard from each taxable person, it was permitted that they should pay in money if that were more convenient, or in provisions at the market price, the rate Nov. 1, 1779, being 5 shillings a pound for beef or mutton, lambs £7, 10 shillings per piece, old corn £25 per barrel, new £15, wheat £7, 10 a bushel; the market price for tobacco being £20, Continental money, per hundred weight, or a dollar a pound. Feb. 15, 1781, it required one dollar and forty-six cents in Continental money to buy a pound of tobacco, while on May 6, 1782, it had risen in value to £50 a hundredweight, or two dollars and a half, a price which the parishioners at the present time would be glad to obtain.

The treasurer in those days had no easy task, as the English money still remained a standard, June 3, 1782, tobacco being quoted at 12 shillings a hundredweight, so that the permission to pay in tobacco, in Continental, in English money, or in provisions, made the accounts most confusing. On Aug. 4, 1783, tobacco is quoted at 15 shillings, while on May 11, 1784, it was 35 shillings.

July 30, 1784, the "late worthy rector, Rev. Isaac Campbell" had died and closed his rectorship of 33 years, the longest the parish has ever known.

One of those most prominent in the parish at this time was Hatch Dent, an officer in the Revolutionary Army, and the first principal of Charlotte Hall Academy. It is said that, as the war

prevented the starting of the school at the "Cool Spring," he taught at first at his farm three miles away. An old log building stood there until 1850 which was known as the "school house." The farm afterwards became the Parish Glebe and some of the old parishioners attended a school taught there by the rectors of the parish.

In August, 1784, Mr. Dent began reading the service and a sermon at the Church, at the request of the Vestry, but he refused to accept compensation until he could obtain a license. He was elected delegate to attend the Convention of "the Episcopal Church of Maryland," to be held at Chester Town, on the Eastern Shore, in October, 1784. Dec. 7 of that year he was appointed "Reader," having received his license.

The first Bishop of the American Church having been consecrated, he wrote to the vestry for a recommendation to "the Bishop" for his ordination, which the vestry immediately sent, but it was not until May 1, 1786, that he presented his letters of orders, and became the second rector of the Parish.

The roof and walls of the Parish Church were torn down in 1787 "for the safety of the inhabitants of Trinity Parish." On August 14, 1789, in accordance with the ideas that then prevailed, it was decided to hold a lottery to raise money for the new Parish Church; the tickets were to be three dollars apiece, one prize of $200, one of $100, two of $50, six of $25, six of $15, eleven of $10, thirteen of $6, two hundred and ninety-three of $4, and six hundred and sixty-seven to be blanks.

On April 5, 1791, it was decided to build the church 30 x 50 feet, two doors 8 x 4, five windows on the north and four on the south, the east, a chancel window to have twenty-four lights. while the one above the gallery was to have but sixteen. April 21, 1793, the Church was consecrated by Bishop Claggett.

On Dec. 30, 1799, the Reverend Hatch Dent died after a rectorship of nearly fourteen years. He was succeeded by the Reverend Henry L. Davis, formerly of All Faith Parish, who left in 1803.

In 1805 the Rev. Owen F. McGrath was rector for a few months, after which the services were held at intervals by the

Rev. Benjamin Contee, Rector of William and Mary Parish. In 1813 the principal of Charlotte Hall Academy, the Rev. Wm. Duke, was rector for the school term, and after he left Mr. Zaddock W. Beall was engaged as Reader for four years.

In 1817 a Committee was appointed to select a suitable farm to be used as a glebe, and purchased the old "Good Will" estate (1668), which had been the residence of the former rector, Rev. Hatch Dent, but it was not until June 23, 1827, that the congregation had succeeded in raising the necessary money, $2,300, when the Committee, who had held the property in their own names, gave the deed for it to the Vestry.

The Rev. James I. Bowden was rector in 1819 and 1820, and after a year's vacancy the parish had as rector the Rev. John Reynolds (1822–1825). It is during his incumbency that we find the first record of a confirmation which has been preserved, as Bishop James Kemp made a visitation Nov. 3, 1823. The old Communion plate was altered in order to be "more serviceable" in 1824, but it has now disappeared. A fruitless effort to find it was made in 1868.

Mr. Reynolds was succeeded by the Rev. George McIlheanny who remained only part of 1826. The next rector remained for two years, the Rev. Richard H. Barnes (1827–8), after which the parish was again vacant for a year.

The oldest members of the parish still remember the Rev. Francis H. Laird (1830–1834) an earnest man, who is said to have visited every family, and who performed an amazing number of baptisms. For the first time since the Revolution a complete list of members is given, and the records show the business-like methods he pursued. It was during his time that the old Colonial arrangement of the Church was altered to that of more modern ideas, the old pulpit being removed from the north side, the old double pews changed to those now in use, the door in the south wall bricked up, the main entrance on the west enlarged, and double doors hung in place of the single old one, and a recess made in the east wall, which was afterwards enlarged into the present chancel.

In 1836 the Rev. James D. Nicholson, a deacon, took charge,

and was ordained priest July 15, 1837, by Bishop W. M. Stone at the Chapel, but died the following summer. His grave in the glebe cemetery is marked by a tombstone erected by the many friends he made during his brief rectorship; the vestrymen wore crape on their arms for thirty days, and both Churches were "placed in appropriate mourning." The bill for his coffin "and for one bushel of meal" is preserved among the parish papers.

The next two rectors, Rev. Correy Chambers (1839) and the Rev. F. A. Foxcroft (1840), each remained but a few months. In 1841 the Rev. James Abercrombie came and remained eight years; he taught the slaves in the Churches after the regular services. The font at the Chapel was obtained at this time, and the period is remarkable in the parish history for the number of legacies received. Among the parish papers are a number of permits for the slaves to marry given by the owners. He removed to Erie, Pa., in 1848.

The Rev. Meyer Lewin (1849–1850) obtained the present walnut altar in use at the parish Church; a number of improvements and alterations were made at this time at the Church and at the glebe.

The Rev. Samuel C. Davis was rector for 1851 and 1852, when a stove for the Church was purchased in Baltimore; the first record of any heating of the building.

The Rev. John Wiley came in 1853 and remained until 1866. The parish met with a great loss in 1857 when Gen. Wm. Matthews died; he was one of the leading vestrymen, and with Dr. Wm. S. Keech and Mr. Thomas O. Bean rendered faithful service for many years. In 1864 the Chapel interior was remodeled to conform to more modern ideas.

The vestry in 1867 passed a resolution approving of either an assistant Bishop, or else a division of the Diocese by uniting the seven lower counties with the District of Columbia.

The Rev. Enoch Reed was rector from 1868 until 1870, and the Rev. S. H. S. Gallaudet for part of 1871. He now is at Highland Park, California.

The next rector, the Rev. L. H. Jackson (1873–1881), now lives in Philadelphia, and his successor, the Rev. Levin J.

Sothoron, (1882–1892), at Forest Hill, Md., and the Rev. John London (1893–1902) at Louisburg, N. C. It was during his incumbency that a parish house was built near each Church, and the little trunk which contained the old records of the parish was discovered in the attic of a house belonging to a former vestryman after they had been lost for many years. The twenty-third rector was the Rev. J. Neilson Barry (1905–06). On Sept. 28, 1905, the parish house near the Church was destroyed by fire, and a new one is now about to be erected.

HISTORIC PORTRAITS OF MARYLAND.

The collection of the portraits of the Founders of Maryland and particularly of the Lords Baltimore was one of the earliest objects of the Historical Society's efforts in which my uncle, Mr. Brantz Mayer, took a great interest. Through his exertions the portrait of Charles, Fifth Lord, a copy by Sully, was obtained, as well as many other portraits of Marylanders, and prints and drawings tending to form a Maryland portrait gallery. Personally I have exerted myself to further this collection, either by the State or the Society, of a complete series, as a beginning, of the Lords Proprietory, and the Governors of Maryland, Provincial and State.

As the recent discovery of portraits of Cecilius Calvert and others have revived an interest in this subject I beg leave to offer to the Society what information I have in regard to portraits of Maryland worthies.

The portraits of George Calvert, first Lord Baltimore, known in this country, were until recently all copies of English prints engraved "after a painting in the great gallery of Francis Bacon, Lord Verulam."—With this clue I ventured to address a letter to the present Earl Verulam as likely to know the whereabouts of the portrait. My request for information was fortified by the endorsement of the Governor and dated 23 March, 1880.

The 3rd May a polite reply was returned as follows,

Gorham, S^{t} Albans, April 19th 1880.

Sir,

In answer to your letter respecting a Picture of the first Lord Baltimore, I beg to inform you, that it is here in my possession —When exhibited in London it was I believe said to be a Vandyke, but although quite equal to many by that Master, M^{r} Scharf of our National Portrait Gallery considered it to be painted by Mytens—This house will be undergoing repairs and cleaning during the month of June, but if after that time you should commission any gentleman to copy my Picture it will give me much pleasure to facilitate the work.

The picture was probably painted for Sir Harbottle Grimston who was a considerable collector of Portraits and has been in the possession of our family ever since. It may perhaps interest you to know (if you do not already) that the last Lord Baltimore lived when in London at No. 42 Grosvenor Sqre.

I have the honor to be
your obedient
servant,

VERULAM.

T. B. Mayer Esqre.

Failing to interest any one to the extent of procuring the copy for the Society, it occurred to Mr. Briscoe, the Secretary of State, that Mr. Jno. W. Garrett, then in England, would respond to an application on the part of the State and report the result of his investigations. The result was the visit of Mr. Garrett and Mr. Morgan of London to Gorhambury and the subsequent very generous gift of an excellent copy of the portrait to the State of Maryland.

This presentation was made in 1882 and the circumstances connected therewith as well as a very detailed account of the picture and the artist Mytens are given in the letter to the Governor accompanying the painting. Mr. Garrett was then sitting for his portrait to Sir J. E. Millais, who recommended Mr. Vintner as

the artist to make the copy. This picture must have been painted between 1625–1630, the period of Mytens' residence in England. The head expresses refinement, intellect and patient endurance, revealing a history of a life of noble endeavor clouded by disappointment and wounded sensibility. The pose is dignified and the details of costume carefully elaborated. Of Cecilius, second Lord Baltimore and first Proprietory, until recently no painted portrait was known to exist, the only recognized likeness of him being a plate engraved for Gwillim's Heraldry, the original copper being in the possession of the British Museum as I am informed by Mr. H. C. Grueber, who very kindly sent me a copy of it as well as electrotypes of a medal of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis and of the medal of Cecilius Calvert and Anne Arundell his wife, (styled "Optima et pulcherrima Conjux,") of both which medals originals exist in the British Museum. This gentleman, at my request, exerted himself very kindly in endeavoring to find portraits of the Baltimore family.

He says of this medal, "This medal I belive to be *unique*, unless there is one in Maryland. Though small, the portraits upon it are excellent."

The print in Gwillim's Heraldry was executed by Abraham Blockling, a Dutch artist born in Amsterdam, 1634, who was in England, 1672–78, and it was no doubt from a drawing from life. While serving as an embellishment to Gwillim's book it enabled his Lordship to distribute copies of it to his friends. Both Cecilius by his medal and print, and the second Charles showed a disposition to multiply their counterfeit resemblances.

Mr. J. H. Rieman of Baltimore employed me to execute from this print a life-size portrait in color which he presented to the Cincinnati Museum of Art where it now is. I regret that his modesty prevented its exhibition in Baltimore previous to its presentation. A large photographic copy of the painting, also a gift of our fellow townsman, adorns the ward-room of the U. S. Ship Baltimore.

To continue our series with Charles, the third Baron of Baltimore and Benedict Leonard, the fourth, has heretofore been the difficulty; as there are numerous portraits of Charles, the fifth Lord and of Frederick, the sixth and last.

The family portraits at Mount Airy in Prince George Co., the seat of a branch of the Calvert family now represented by Mr. Cecilius B. Calvert and his sister Miss Eleanor A. Calvert, offered some hope of finding the missing links in our chain. In reply to a note addressed to Mr. Calvert I received this information:

Feb. 2nd 1883.

Frank B. Mayer, Esqr.

Dear Sir: The portraits of the following Lords Baltimore are here hanging on the same wall on which they were placed when sent to my Grandfather by the last Charles, Lord Baltimore, more than a century ago, viz:—

1. 1st Charles Lord Baltimore, by Vandyke.
2. Benedict Leonard—(4th Baron of Baltimore).
3. The Second Charles, by Le Brun, taken in the year 1715 just after his leaving College, and
4. Another of the same which was taken at a later date. These four are all the portraits at Mt. Airy. There are two engravings one of Cæcilius and one of George Lord Baltimore.

* * * *

Yours truly

Cæcilius B. Calvert,
Rosaryville, P. G. Co.,
Md.

It was understood that these pictures were guarded with such jealous care that even members of the family rarely saw them, and my proposed visits were consequently discouraged. Notwithstanding, I found myself an unheralded visitor at Mount Airy the 17th June, 1889, receiving a very polite reception both from Mr. and Miss Calvert, and after some delay was given a view of the pictures. The portraits of Charles, first of the name, and of Benedict Leonard are heads only, the shoulders in each case clad in armor.

Charles, second of the name, as an Oxford student, is a three-quarter length, less than life-size. The other is a small picture, but in a rich costume, evidently that of a man of fashion of his time.

There were in addition two large, life-size, kit-cat portraits of Benedict Calvert of Maryland and of Elizabeth Calvert his wife and cousin, well painted in formal style by Woolaston.

The two heads of the first Charles and of Benedict Leonard were seriously in need of restoration, and in their then state it was difficult to determine their artistic value. They could scarcely have been from Vandyke's hand. But as being the only probably authentic likenesses of these two Proprietaries of Maryland they deserve to be preserved.

The other pictures were in much better condition, the young Oxford student enabling us to resume our series with a handsome man who was apparently well aware of his pictorial adaptability, for, in addition to the two we mention as the student and the beau, he appears in all the pride of the Proprietary in the full length, now in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, which was sent to Annapolis together with a portrait of Queen Anne during her reign; and again he is represented as a seated figure in the small, full length in the City Hall of Baltimore. The Calverts of Maryland have in their possession a very beautiful miniature almost identical with the head of the full length of which the society owns the copy by Thomas Sully.

The original of this copy hung, probably from the time it arrived in Annapolis, on the walls of the old Assembly rooms and remained there until exchanged by the State with Charles Wilson Peale for the six portraits of Governors of Maryland, now in the Executive Chamber. Efforts have been made to sell this picture to the State as a Vandyke—an impossible assumption, as it represents a costume not worn until fifty years after that artist's death. Without any doubt it is the portrait of Charles, fifth Lord Baltimore, painted by an artist of ability, possibly by Le Brun, who had already depicted his lordship as an Oxford student.

In regard to family history and portraits Miss Calvert's knowledge was extended. "Whose portrait," she asked, "was that in the old Assembly rooms as a companion to Charles, fifth Lord? and whose that in Peale's Museum, a bust portrait of a Baltimore?" Horace Walpole speaks in his letters of a portrait of Cecilius

Calvert belonging to the Marquis of Lansdowne. "May it not be *Litchfield*, as Benedict Leonard married a daughter of the Earl of Litchfield?"

Mr. Brantz Mayer corroborated this impression of Miss Calvert's as to a companion picture of Charles, fifth Lord, in the old Assembly rooms, and insisted that it was not the full length of Frederick now in the Executive Chamber, but, as I believe, a three-quarter length of a Baltimore.

Of the bust portrait in Peale's Museum, Philadelphia, an old catalogue might give some information. Where are these two pictures? That of Queen Anne, a full-length sent with, or about the time of, the Charles, is supposed to have been destroyed during the Revolution. It hung in the Provincial Court-room at Annapolis. Frederick, the sixth and last Lord appears, as a full-length, clad, as his predecessor Cecilius, in the robes of a Baron of the British Parliament. Inferior as a work of art to the full-length of Charles it was originally a better picture than now, having suffered at the hands of a conscienceless restorer. It hangs in the Executive Chamber. An engraved portrait of Frederick is found in the volume entitled *The Noble Authors of England*, and prints of the day represent him under less creditable circumstances. Of Henry Harford, his successor and heir, there may be a portrait in England.

To Henrietta Maria, daughter of Henry of Navarre and Queen of Charles I of England, we owe the name of Mary-Land—*Terra Mariæ*. Her portrait has been admirably painted by Vandyke. To this artist we owe also the preservation of the likeness of the amiable and comely Anne Arundell of Wardour, wife of Cecilius Calvert, who testified to her virtues as "the best and most lovely of wives," both on the tomb erected to her memory and on the medal where she shares his dignity as Baron of Baltimore and Avalon. Mr. Daniel H. Randall of Annapolis, urged by historic zeal, visited Wardour Castle and procured a photograph from this picture, together with many facts and volumes illustrating the history of the Arundells, embodying the result in a very interesting paper read before the Anne Arundell Historical Society. The name of Queen Anne, and the architecture, manners and mind of

her reign belong to the halcyon days of colonial Maryland, the culmination of an epoch as distinct as that of the Cavalier founders or the subsequent buff-and-blue heroes of the Maryland Line. It is to be regretted that no portrait exists of Mistress Margaret Brent, who figures conspicuously in the early days of the colony.

With the prospects of success in obtaining a complete series of the Lords Proprietary, investigations looking to a similar series of the Governors of Maryland might not prove fruitless. Of Proprietary and Royal Governors there is a very good life-size three-quarter length of Governor Horatio Sharpe, in a scarlet and black (or blue) uniform, at Whitehall near Annapolis, the seat of the Ridouts and the residence built by Governor Sharpe for himself. At Belair, in Prince George Co., there were formerly large portraits by Hudson belonging to the Ogle family. Governor Samuel Ogle is probably among them. No doubt search would bring to us many of the portraits of this period, either here or in England, if proper inquiries were made.

Of State Governors there are in the Executive Chamber, Annapolis, those of Thos. Johnson, Wm. Paca, Wm. Smallwood, John Eager Howard, Geo. Plater, Jno. H. Stone, Samuel Sprigg and Thos. H. Hicks. This series should be completed before the opportunities of doing so pass away.

It is high time that Marylanders should awaken to the fact that no State has contributed more brilliant stars to the galaxy of American ability; that in legal eminence Maryland stands first, having given more Attorneys General and Justices of the Supreme Court and, with the exception of Massachusetts, more Cabinet officers to the Federal Government than any other State. In the Army and Navy, in the field of poetry, authorship, diplomacy, statesmanship, art and invention, a roll of honor could be called of national renown.

A list of distinguished Marylanders would be a surprise to our people, so generally indifferent and comparatively uninformed as to the distinction of our history and the many able and heroic souls who can be claimed as sons of the State. It is to be hoped that we can yet supplement our official gallery by the addition of, at least, the most prominent of her distinguished sons.

THE LABADISTS OF BOHEMIA MANOR.

While engaged in some investigations as to the site and history of Baltimore Town on Bush River, my attention was directed to Bohemia Manor, on the opposite side of the Chesapeake. First, because Baltimore county included that part of the Eastern Shore as is conclusively proved by a paper from William A. Stewart, Esq., read before this Society.

And secondly, because the Manor was the residence of Augustine Herman, who occupied a prominent position in the early history of Maryland, and whose descendants are among the principal families of this State, Pennsylvania and Virginia. The Shippens, Hynsons, Frisbies, Bordleys, Brices, Dulanys, Chestons, Galloways, Jenningses and Randolphs.

Ariana Vanderheyden, the grand-daughter of Augustine Herman, married first James Frisby, then her second husband Thomas Bordley, and her third Edmund Jennings, Deputy Secretary of the Province.

Ariana was a superior woman. "No one," said one of her sons, "could forget the mild sparkle of her eye, the sweet tones of her voice, or the dignity of her deportment. Parents could not bestow a better wish for a daughter than a resemblance of Ariana."

Mrs. Jennings resided in Annapolis until 1737, when she was taken by her husband to England, where she was inoculated for the small-pox, of which she died in 1741.

On further investigation, I found an additional interest in Bohemia Manor, then in Baltimore county, from the fact that here was the settlement of the Labadists, a colony from Holland, and among the principal converts was Ephraim the eldest son of Augustine Herman.

And who were the Labadists? Jean de Labadie was born in Bordeaux in 1610, and educated in the Jesuit College, where he led an ascetic life, eating only herbs. His health became impaired,

and receiving honorable dismission from the order, he assumed the habit of a secular priest, and preached with great success.

He was invited to Paris, where his preaching drew immense crowds, and the Bishop of Amiens gave him a prebend in the collegiate church.

After several years' service at Amiens, he retired to Port Royal, and became a Jansenist. From Port Royal he went to Toulouse and then to Graville among the Carmelites, where he taught that a life of contemplation was perfection, rendering one insensible to ordinary human motives. At Toulouse he was in charge of a nunnery, but claiming inspiration and prophecy, he came under censure, whereupon he went to Montauban and became a Protestant.

After two years' study at Montauban, he went with the highest recommendations to Orange and Geneva, where he faithfully discharged his pastoral duties.

At Orange he wrote to John Milton, expressing a desire to come to England. Milton wrote a warm letter sympathizing with him in the persecution he bore, congratulating him on the stand he had taken, and urging him to come and take the place of a French pastor who had recently died.

Had Labadie complied, and had he formed an English colony, the results might have been very different, but he preferred Geneva, where he gained two important converts, Pierre Yvon his successor, and Pierre de Lignon, the second in the community, who both remained his life-long friends.

At Geneva he was heard by John Schurman, minister at Basel, who invited him to Middleburgh, where he became pastor of the Walloon Church, and where Anna Marie Schurman, sister of John, became his devoted disciple.

She was a woman of superior genius and acquirements, writing Arabic, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, German, Italian, French, besides Dutch, her own mother-tongue.

It would take too much time to detail the life of Labadie. I must therefore briefly state, that he was banished from Middleburgh for refusing to sign the Walloon confession. He then went to Veere where he established an independent sect, whereupon the

Middleburghers demanded his dismissal; this the people of Veere refused, and there being imminent danger of a battle, Labadie, in a spirit of self-sacrifice, left the city.

Going to Amsterdam he had great success, but the ministers stirred up the magistrates, and a decree was finally passed that none should attend his ministry except his own immediate followers.

In this extremity the Labadists were favored by Elizabeth, daughter of the Elector Palatine and Abbess of Herford Abbey, which she presented to them. They accordingly left Amsterdam and gained converts rapidly.

But many reprehensible practices were indulged, especially marriages in private, thus violating the law of the land; and the authorities expelled them from the Abbey, upon which they then went to Altona in Denmark, where in 1674, Labadie died, attended and nursed by Anna Schurman.

A war being imminent between Sweden and Denmark, the Labadists made another migration under Yvon to Wieland in Friesland. Here they were presented by the two daughters of Cornelis Van Arsen, Lord of Sommelsdyk, the richest man in Holland, with a castle and estate known as the Walta House.

We are curious to know what were the peculiar tenets of this colony. Besides what has been said of their mystic character, they were communists, all being equal. William Penn, who visited them both at Herford Abbey and Wieland, declared that they were a plain, serious people and came near to Friends as to silence in meeting, women speaking, preaching by the Spirit, plainness in garb and in furniture.

Robert Barclay and George Keith visited Amsterdam, and offered to take Labadie into their Society, but he declined. As may be inferred, there were many reports injurious to Labadie, and yet it is certain, that many excellent men not only disbelieved such charges but were willing to forsake property, friends and home, in attestation of their devotion.

Bayle, in his Dictionary, speaks disparagingly of Labadie, but Mosheim, who had opportunity of knowing the facts, says: "The charges against him were very numerous and weighty, both as to

his orthodoxy and morals, but it is questionable if, when fairly tried, he would be found any more than a rash, indiscreet enthusiastical man."

As many poor persons flocked to the Walta House of Wieverd, it did not pay expenses, and the next step was moving to America, in anticipation of which they sent pioneers to New York.

By the treaty of Breda in 1667, New York was given up to the English, and as a compensation Surinam was given to the Dutch.

Accordingly the colonists left Wiewerd for Surinam with high hopes. They sent back the most favorable reports. A second company under Joseph Dankers, followed in a ship which was plundered by pirates.

On reaching Surinam, they were greatly disappointed. They were attacked by malaria, annoyed by insects, and "snakes ran through the houses like mice in Holland." They then returned to New York, and sent Jasper Dankers and Peter Sluyter, to discover a new location. After visiting various settlements, they determined on Bohemia Manor, to which they had been invited by Ephraim Herman, the oldest son of Augustine Herman, who had in New York become a convert.

Whether the Labadists discovered the best church, I shall not inquire. It is certain that they discovered the garden of Maryland, situated between the Elk and Sassafras, and immediately on the Bohemia River as its centre. The waters of the three rivers abound with fish. The wild fowl were so numerous, that the water looked black like turf. Indeed Dankers could not sleep because of the noise and cries. This was especially the home of the peach.

The travellers did not cross the Bay, and represented the other side as a wilderness, but according to Herman's Map made some years previously, Baltimore was flourishing on Bush River, and they themselves spoke of ships on the other side, which in all probability were ships at Baltimore Town loading with tobacco.

In view of the recent movement for a ship canal joining the Chesapeake and Delaware Bays, it is curious to read the following statement of Dankers made nearly 200 years ago. "When the

Dutch governed the country, a canal of six miles was much talked of connecting the Apoquemene and Bohemia Creeks. By this the Marylanders might buy from the South or Delaware all they needed, and in turn send their tobacco more easily to that river than to the great bay of Virginia, as now they have to do. It is well to consider whether this important subject should not be brought to higher authorities than particular Governors. What is now done by land in carts might then be done by water for more than 600 miles."

In consideration of a map of Virginia and Maryland, made by Herman at his own expense, which the King of England pronounced the "best map he had ever seen," Lord Baltimore gave Herman some 3000 acres of land in this beautiful region, for which Herman must lay out a new town, Cecilton, and a new county, Cecil.

But as the Susquehannock Indians occupied much of this ground, Herman obtained a warrant for a new survey, including altogether some 20,000 acres. First, however, he met the Chiefs of the Susquehannocks at their fort on Spesutia Island, made the necessary purchase, and introduced settlers from New York about 1660.

Through his son Ephraim's persuasion he agreed to convey a large part of his manor to Sluyter, Dankers, Judge Moll, Arnoldus de la Grange, and Peter Bayard, nephew of Governor Stuyvesant, —all Labadists.

Herman, however, repented his bargain, suspecting that the names were a device to secure his conveyance and refused to fulfill the contract until compelled by law. The final deed was executed in 1684, when a company of men and women numbering one hundred came over from Holland.

Herman's suspicions were well founded, Moll and de la Grange transferring their interest to Sluyter, who in 1693, monopolized all.

Herman had made a will leaving his property in entail to his eldest son Ephraim, providing also for his other children, directing that if his heirs died without issue, the Governor and Council should appropriate the Manor to an English Protestant School and College, with provision for a minister and a refuge for dis-

tressed travellers. He also directed that a marble monument be erected to his memory near the manor house.

When Ephraim joined the Labadists, forsaking his family and bright prospects, his father made a codicil expressing his dissatisfaction; calling the Labadists a faction; and lest Ephraim should seduce the other children to that sect, he directed other trustees to guard the property. Herman died shortly after, in 1686, about the time of his son Ephraim's death. Ephraim had repented of his folly, returned to his wife, and soon after lost his reason and died, fulfilling the curse pronounced on him by his father, that he should not live two years after joining the Labadists.

The subsequent history of the colonists is given by Rev. Peter Dittlebach, who having been once a member and unfavorably impressed, wrote a book, showing Sluyter's tyranny, who, for one thing, would not allow fire in cold weather, in order that the disciples might be hardened, though he had his own hearth well provided. Their doctrine as to marriage and facility of separation by some internal choice, was also objectionable.

The original Labadists were opposed to slavery and raising tobacco, but these had no scruples on either respect. They threatened to sell a negress slave, because she took some beer to her sick master without permission of the Abbess.

Another account is from Samuel Bownas, a Quaker preacher, who visited Bohemia Manor in 1702. He says that the men and women took their meals separately. There was a common stock into which rich and poor must place their money. They carried on a factory of linen, besides raising corn, tobacco, flax, hemp, with cattle.

All ornaments of dress were put off. Their different employments were assigned by the head director, Sluyter. A former minister might be seen at the wash tub, or a young man of good family tending cattle. One must eat the food provided, however distasteful.

The disobedient were punished by reduction of clothing or placed lower down at the table or finally excluded.

The dissolution of the mother-house in Holland depended on the lives of the sisters Sommelsdyk, they having only a life estate

in the property given to the Labadists. In 1688, there was a division of the property, the poor going away, the rich remaining. In 1725, the last of the three sisters died, and this was the last of the Holland congregation.

In 1861 there was no trace left of the mother-house at Wieweerd, but their church was yet standing and the visitor was shown eleven bodies, which have been for generations preserved through some unascertained property in the earth or atmosphere.

Among the Maryland colonists there was a similar distribution by Sluyter to Herman Van Barkelo, Nicholas de la Montaigne, Peter de Koning, Deriek Kolchman, John Moll, Jr., Hendrick Sluyter, and Samuel Bayard. Sluyter, the head, died in 1722, and in 1727, none were left; an existence in Maryland of 43 years. Sluyter directed in his will that his body should be buried at the Walta House of Wieweerd.

Henry C. Murphy, Esq., Secretary of the Long Island Historical Society (to whose writings I am much indebted), observes, "the Labadists failed when the eloquence of their founder, and the ability of Yvon his successor were withdrawn. It was personal influence rather than its adaptation to the spiritual wants of the man, that made the strength of Labadism, which like a ship without a pilot, drifted on the rocks and disappeared."

There is in our Historical Society, a package of valuable papers; among others the original Charter from Lord Baltimore to Herman, and also Herman's Will.

These papers must have furnished a "celebrated case" in the Chancery of Maryland, "Ensor vs. Lawson." Joseph Ensor, marrying Mary Bouchell, a great-grand-daughter of Herman, was plaintiff against Mary Lawson, another great-grand-daughter.

As a layman, I shall not go beyond my depth, and will remark only, that there lie the written opinions of Mr. Dulany, Mr. Holliday, Mr. Rumsey, and Mr. Bordley. Also a mortgage from Ensor to Charles Carroll of Carrollton, and also the legal possession of part of the property by William Paca, Governor and signer of the Declaration of Independence.

It is remarkable that while the French successfully colonized Lower Canada, and the Dutch the East Indies, no French or

Dutch colonies have prospered in the United States of America, while the Germans, Irish, Welsh and Scandinavians, have widely spread and flourished.

It is also observable that most colonizations have been very different from the original intention. Columbus, to discover a passage to the East Indies, reached San Salvador. Ponce de Leon, attracted by a miraculous spring, discovered Florida. The Puritans came to this country not directly from England, but from Holland, where they had originally settled. Lord Baltimore's first scheme was colonizing Newfoundland, but the permanent settlement was made at St. Mary's by an after-thought; and the Labadists, instead of Surinam their first choice, went to Bohemia Manor.

We learn further from the journal of the Labadist Dankers, that Lord Baltimore, through his Governor, Charles Calvert, was not so tolerant as is generally supposed, though in the case to be mentioned, he did not probably exceed the general standard of that day. The case was this: — The Dutch were the discoverers of the Delaware river and reasonably claimed the title to the adjoining lands. Accordingly a colony of Mennonites left Holland and settled at Horekill, now Lewes, about 30 miles from Cape Henlopen.

The first comers were destroyed by the Indians in 1631. A new colony was plundered by the English on the conquest of the New Netherlands in 1662, and in 1672, Charles Calvert, who became Lord Baltimore in 1675, sent 30 men and horses under one Jones, who in derision and contempt of the Duke of York's authority, bound the magistrates and inhabitants, despitefully treated them, plundered their goods and when asked for his authority pointed to his pistol.

It has been said that Spanish missionaries had visited the Chesapeake unsuccessfully long before the settlement of St. Mary's. Herman says, that there were mines worked by the Spaniards beyond the mountains, and in a recent letter Governor Seymour says: "The Spaniards, attracted by the prospect of precious metals, came to the Onondaga Lake, where they built forts long before the French, Dutch or English visited that region, and that

relics are shown of crucifixes, weapons and especially a remarkable stone bearing date of 1520."

Dankers, the Labadist journalist, says: "I asked Hans an Indian, what Christians had first seen these parts? He replied: The Spaniards or Portuguese, who brought maize or Spanish wheat, but they did not stay long. Afterwards came the Dutch to Noten or Governor's Island, and to Fort Orange or Albany, and after them came the English, who always disputed the first possession."

Again, "We took a walk to an Island near Albany, where the earth of a fort is seen, said to be built by the Spaniards," and though Dankers discredits the statement, he admits that such is the Indian tradition.

Herman, the Commissioner of the Dutch, disputing the Maryland boundary with Col. Utie, alleged no Spanish settlements in that region, but based his claim on the ground of discovery by Columbus, and argued that when the Spanish Netherlands become independent of Spain, they carried with them the rights of the original Spanish discovery.

Our Labadist journalist does not give a good account of our Baltimore county forefathers. He states that the lives of the planters in Maryland and Virginia, are very godless and profane; they listen to neither God nor His commandments, and have neither church nor cloister.

When the ships arrive with goods, and especially with wine and brandy, the planters indulge so extravagantly, that nothing is left for the rest of the year, not even tobacco enough to buy a shoe or stocking for their children.

He further says, that as a punishment for such conduct, insects, flies and worms are sent, producing great famine, so that on one occasion a mother killed her own child, and for such cannibalism she was executed. As there is no record of any such famine, to say nothing of the cannibalism, we must suppose that somebody was humbugging the credulous Dutchman. Maryland has lacked many things in the course of her history, but never victual.

TWO JACOBITE CONVICTS.

It has always been supposed that the unfortunate persons who were transported to America for participation in the Jacobite risings of 1715 and 1745, had their lot much lightened by sympathetic friends among the colonists; and the following narratives confirm this to a surprising degree. The first is a letter from a Scotchman transported after Mar's rebellion. This singular epistle we reproduce from an ancient broadside in the collections of the Historical Society, but have no knowledge of its origin. Readers who can grapple with the peculiarities of a Highlander's English, will find here a roseate picture of a convict's life.

The second is the narrative of Alexander Stewart taken prisoner after the battle of Culloden, and included by Bishop Robert Forbes in his *Lyon in Mourning*, a collection of papers connected with the rising in 1745, now published by the Scottish History Society from the original manuscript. We reproduce only so much as relates to his Maryland experiences. He got safely to Edinburgh, where he was received with open arms by the Jacobites, and apparently lived without molestation, though his neck must have been forfeit to the gallows.

Letter from Donald MacPherson, a young Lad who was sent to Virginia with Captain Toline, in the Year 1715. on account of his having joined his Chieftain in the Cause of his King and Country; he was born near the House of Colloden, where his Father then lived.

Portobago in Marylan, te 2d June 1717.

Deer lofen ant kynt Fater,

Dis is to lat you ken dat I am in guid Healt, plissed bi God for dat, houpin to heer de lyk frae you. As I am your hane Sinn, I wad a bine ill-leart gin I had na latten you ken tis by

Kaptin Rogir's Skip dat geas te Inverness, per cunnan I dinna ket sik a anitter Apertunitie dis Towmon agen. De Skip dat I kam in was a lang Tym o de See cumin oure heir: bat plissit bi Got for a Ting, wi a kipit our Heels unco weel pat Shonie Mag Willivray, dat hat ay a sair Heet. Dere was saxty o's a kame inte te Quintry hel a Lit and Lim, and nane o's a dyit pat Shonie Mag Willivray and anitter Ross Lad dat kam oure wi's; and may pi dem Twa wad a dyt gin tey hed biden at hame, gin tey hed bin hangit be Cukil Shordie, or kilt be his cursed Red-Cuits; tey tuik frae me my pony Cun, Pestil, Turk and Pled, and left me neting. Pe my Fait I kanna komplin for kumin to dis Quintry, for Mestir Nicols, Lort pliss him, pat mi till a pra Mestir, dey ca him Shon Bayne, and hi lifes in Marylant, in te Rifer Potomak, hi nifer gart mi wurk ony Ting pat fat I lykit myself; de meast o a my Wark is waterin a pra stennt Hors, and pringin Wyn and Pread ut o de Sellir to my Mestir's Tebil. Sin efer I kam til him, I nefer wantit a Potte of petter Ele nor is in a Shon Glass Hous; for I ay sit toun wi de Pairns te Dennir. My Mestir seys til me, Fan I kan speek lyk de Fouk hier, dat I sanna pi pidden di nating pat gar his Plackimors wurk; for desyt Fouk hier dinna ise te wurk pat te first Yeer efter dey kum in te de Quintry: Tey speek a lyke de Sogers in Inerness.

Lofen Fater, Fan de Servants hier he deen wi der Mestirs they grou unco rich, and its ne wonder, for dey mak a hantil o Tombako, and de Switis, and Apels, and de Shirries, and de Pires, grou in de Wuds wantin Tyks aput dem; de Swynes, de Teuks, an Durkies gangs in de Wuds wantin Mestirs; de Tumbako grous shust lyke de Dokins at de Bak o de Lairts Yart; an de Skips dey kum frae ilk a Plece, and bys dem, and gies a hantel o Siller and Gier for dem. My nane Mestir kam til de Quintry a Servant, and weil I wat hes now wort mony a Tusan Punt. Fait ye mey pelive mi de pirest Plantir hire lifes amest as weil as de Lairt o Collottin. Mey pi fan my Tym is ut I wol kom hem and sie yow, pat not for de first nor de neest Yeer, til I gatir somting o my nane; for fan I ha deen wi my Mestir, hi maun gi mi a Plantashion, and set me up, its de

Quistum hier in dis Quintrie; and syn I houp te gor yow trink Wyn insteat o Tippeni in Inerness. I wiss I het kum owr hier twa or tri Yeirs seener nor I dit, syn I wad ha kum de seener hame; put Got bi tankit dat I kam sa seen as I dit. Gin ye koud sen mi owr be ony o yur Inerness Skips ony Ting te mi, an it war so mukle Crays as mak a Queit, it wad mey pe gar my Mestir tink te mare o mi: Its tru, I ket Clais aneu frae him, bat ony Ting frae yu wad luk weil and pony. And plese Got, gin I life, I sall pey pu pack agen.

Lofen Fater, De Man dat vryts dis Letir for mi, is van Shames Mackeyne, he lifes shust a Myl frae mi; he has peen unco kyn te mi sin efer I kam te de Quintrie; hi was porn in Petie, and kam owr a Servant frae Klescou, and hes peen his nane Man twa Yeirs, and hes sex Plakimors wurkin til him alrety, makin Tumbako ilk a Tay; heil win hem shortly, and a te Geir dat he hes wun heir, and py a Lortskip at hem. Luik dat ye dinna forket te vryt til mi ay fan ye ket ony Ocashion. Got Almighte pliss you, Fater, and a de leve o de Hous, for I hena forkoten nane o yu, nor dinna yu forket mi. For pliss Got I sal kum hem wi Gier-aneuch to di yu a and my nanesel guid. I weit ye will bi veri vokic fan ye si yur nane Sin's Fesh agen, for I heve leart a hantil hevins sen I sau yu, and I am unco Buik leirt. I houp tey he shest mi te me Crace. Got blis our ain King Shames yet nu, I'm verie sire te Lord wul sent him pack agen to Skotlan, to I sud niver see te Tay. Got seve him, I wull prey tat a me Tays.

A tis is frae yur nane lofen and opedient Sin,

Tonal Makaferson

Directed, For Shames Makaferson, neir te Lairt of Collottin's Hous neir Inerness, in de Nort o Skotlan.

Narrative of Alexander Stewart.

On Munday, about twelve o'clock we weied our ancors and sait sail and away for sea, and all the four ships for four days kept together till a most violent storm separat us, and we never meet again in the whole voyage, and so we proceeded on our way till we came in sight of Cape Charles and Cape Henry, which are the two remarkable places on right and left as we entred in the river between Virginia and Maryland. Cape Charles is on the right and Cape Henry on the left; and we was not one leag within the capes when Don Pedro appeared in purshout of us, but could not come within the Capes after us. So this was our misfortune, for if we hade but two hours more play at sea, we had all been his own. So being got within the river, our supercargo and the Doctor want to take their rest, and our Captain came and sat down on the trap that came down between dakes and discours'd us, and asked us what we was to doe now when we was near our journey's end. So we told him we was to depend on God's providence and him, for which he said he would make all the intrest for us that in his power lay. Which certainly he was as good as his word. So when we came up forgainst St. Maries, the Captain went ashore, it being the place where the Custom hous was, that he might enter us all their, and in two or three hours time he came aboard again, and caused the carpenter go and take off all our irons, which accordingly was done. I was the first that got them on,and my comerad, James Strachan, and me, the last that got them off. And that night being Sunday the 19th of July, 1747, we came to an ancor at the port called Wecomica, where we was to be put ashore at; and as soon as the ship came to an ancor, we was all ordered below dake, for Robert Horner, the supercargo, wanted to speak a queet word to us, which accordingly went all down between daks, and Horner came down and made a verie fine speech concerning the goodness of the countrie that we was going to; and if we would atest for seven years, the men that would by us, if we pleased them weel, would probably give us down two years of our

time, and a gun, a pick and a mattock, and a soot of cloths, and then we was fre to go thorou any place of the iland we pleased. So I told him that it was quet useless to direct all his discourse to me, for I was to answer for non but myself, for what he should doe was to go and bring down the list of all our names that he hade, and reade them over, and them that was willing to answer yes, and them that was not willing to answer no. Which accordingly he did, and they all asked me what I would doe. I told them they might doe as they pleased, but for mee I would sign non for no man that ever was born, though they should hang me over the yard arms. Then says they, We will sign non neither. So I told them, Gentlemen, stand by that, then. So they said they would, which accordingly they all did. By this time Horner was come back with the list of all our names and began to read them; and they unanimously called out No—no. I thank you, Stewart, says Horner, If you would not doe yourself, you needed not hindered others to have done. Then he shoed us two letters; he said the one was from their King to the Duke of Newcastle, and the other from the Duke of Newcastle to Mr. Gillder, the merchant who hade the transportation of us; and if we would not assign, those letters impowered him to go to the Governor of Maryland and Virginie (the Governour's answer to Horner was, the law had passed on us before we cam from England, and he could not pass any mor upon us till we made a new transgration) and get a sufficient guard to keep us all in prison untill we all should sign. I told he might doe so, but we did not value his guards, for we hade the misfortune to be under better guards the time past then that country was capible to put upon us, so he might doe his pleasure And so away ashore with the Captain he went that night, for our Captain's wiffe lived about a mill and one half from the ship, and from that Horner hade about nineteen milles to go where the Governor lived to Annapolis; and the time he was there our Captain sent letters to all the Roman Catholick gentlemen and others who was our friends, so that we might not fall in the common buckskins' hand, for so the people that are born their are called so. And upon Wednesday the twentie second of Jully, Horner returned back and all the buckskins in the countrie with him, and Cornel Lee, a

monstrous big fellow, in order to bulle us to assign; and this Lee said to us he would make us sign. And we told him God Almighty hade made us once, and he neither could nor should make us again, for which he said no mor. So as I told you before that Captain Holmes acquainted all the gentlemen of three or four counties of the province of Maryland to attend on board the day of the sale, which hapned one the 22[d] of Jully 1747, after the ship came to an ancor at Wecomica in St. Mary's countie, Maryland, which all the following gentlemen did attend, viz: Justinian Wharton, Mr. Edward Digs, Mr. John and Joseph Lancasters, and on Mr. Thomson, all of St. Marys countie, and Mr. William Digs, commissioned by a great many more gentlemen out of Prince Georges countie, Maryland, who bought all the eightie eight that was aboarde of our ship except thre or four that went with two of the common buckskins, them that are born in the countrie, for so they are called, and would not take advice to go allong with the above gentlemen. Doctor Stewart and his brother William, both living in Annapolis, and both brothers to David Stewart of Ballachalun in Montieth, Scotland, who were all my loyal master's fast friends, and paid the nine pounds six shillings sterling money that was my price when sold to Mr. Benedict Callvert in Annapolis who is a very pretie fellow and on who hade my being set at libertie as heart as much as any man in the province. And now being at my owen libertie, I came down the countrie from Annapolis, and got the len of a horse from Mr. Calvert, 26 miles down to Mr. Jgnasious Digs in Prince George's countie, and 2 horss and a servant from Mr. Digs, 17 miles down to Mr. Henre Neils, and from Mr. Neils 2 horss and servant, 10 miles down to Portobaco to on Mr. Collen Mitchell who keeps a great ins their, who used me verie sivale, and never would take anything from me, neither in passing nor repassing; and then I meet with my good friend, Mr. John Mushet, and his brother, Dr. Mushet, where I stayed when I had the ague, and wanted for nothing that hous and shopes could affoord me. These two Mushets ar sister sons of old Lendricks in Stirlingshire, Scotland. And from that I went twenty miles down to on Viddow Neils, who was as kind a motherly woman as ever I meet with in all my travels, and her sone-in-law, Mr.

Edward Digs, who was on of the gentlemen that assisted in purchasing my freedom; and I stayed their untill Mr. John Mushet found out ane honest man, a captain of a ship (called the *Peggie* of Dumfries) bound for Dunfreece, one David Blair, who was lying in Matticks in Virgine oposite to Mrs. Neils where I was staying, only seven miles of Potomock river to cross; and the 11th of January 1748 I took my live of all my friends, and went aboard on the 13th of the said month, but our cargo not being all got ready so soon as was expected, it was the 28 befor we set saill to fall down the river towards the Capes, and being within 3 leags of the Capes we was obliged by ane easterly wind to put into Hampton Road, and their we dropt our ancor and lay for 12 days, and on the 13th of February 1748 about two in the morning we got cleare of the Capes and put to sea, and befor daylight we got out of the sight of land, and in 27 days we saw the Irish land.

[Since this paper was in type the Editor has been informed that the letter of Donald Macpherson has been reprinted (50 copies only) by A. Russell Smith, London, 1882.]

THE ARK AND DOVE.

In the Public Record Office, London, and especially in the records of the Court of Admiralty, there are some entries referring to the voyage of the Ark and Dove, which are not without interest. They were discovered and copied by H. F. Thompson, Esq., and are subjoined.

Oath Administered

Right hon^{ble}

According to y^{r} Lo^{ps} order of the 25th daie of this instant moneth of October I have been at Tilbury hope, where I found a shipp and a pinnace belonging to the right hon^{ble} Cecill Lord Baltimore, where I offered the oath of Allegeance to all and every

the persons aboard, to the number of about 128, who tooke the same, and enquiring of the Mr. of the shipp whether any more persons were to goe the said voyage, he answered that some fewe others were shipped, who had forsaken the shipp and given over their voyage by reason of the stay of the said shipp.

London 29th of October, 1633 — Yor. Ldps. humbly devoted Servant Ed. Watkins

To the right honoble the Lords of his Matys most honoble privie Councell.

Agreement with Master of the Dove.

Agreement made the 30th of September 1633 by the Right Honoble the Lord Baltimore, Mr. Leonard Calvert, Mr. Jeremie Hawlye, Mr. Thomas Cornwallis, & Mr. John Sanders, to and with Richard Orchard, Master of the pinnace Dove—

	£	s	d
Imprimis, that the said Master shall have for himselfe by the month	4.	00	00
Item, his mate, Samuel Lawson, pr. month	2.	10.	00
Item, the Boatswain, Richard Kenton, pr. month	1.	2.	00
Item, the Gunner, John Games, pr. month	1.	2.	00
Item, John Curke, pr. month	1.	00.	00
Item, Nicholas Perrie pr. month	1.	00.	00
Item, A Boye, the Master's servant, according as it shall be thought he deserves	0.	10.	00

Memorandum: that the Master is to have the transportation of a Boye free.

In witness whereof we have thereunto sett Or. hands the daye and date above written

Cecilius Baltimore

Arms, Provisions, etc.

Note of things delivered to my Lord Baltimore's account, August 23d 1633 abord the Ark—

		£	sh	d
	ct qr lb			
4 Sacars ordinance waying	99 1 00 att			
14sh the cwt.		69.	9.	6
	£ sh			
12 pipes of Canary wine att	14. 10 the pipe	174.	00.	00
ffower Demiculleverins, waying				
29. 0. 00				
do 30. 0. 00				
do 30. 0. 00				
do 29. 0. 00	at 14sh p. cwt.	82.	12.	00
Deales & other provisions		28.	5.	00

Certified this 28th of September 1633
per mee John Bowlter, Purser

Received from Leonard Leonards, Brewer, one hundred five tonne of Beare for the use of the right honoble the Lord Baltimore & other gentlemen as by the particular accompts doth appeare: 9 for the p according as by the noate of directions appeareth, and also for ffive Toun of harbr Beare received for the Ship Ark & the pinnace Dove.

£ sh d
I say recd by mee at 6. 19. 00

John Bowlter

Beer Deld to the Ship Arke, Richard Low, Mr for the use of the Right honorable Lord Baltimore

	£	sh	d
28 in harbour beere	6.	00.	00
more tenn ton at 3lb p ton	30.	00.	00
mor thirtie five ton at 48sh per ton	84.	00.	00
mor sixtie ton at 40sh per ton	120.	00.	00
	240.	00.	00

[Indorsed]

Leonards contra Lord Baltimore—Libellus per Williamson quarto Novembris 1633.

CAPTURE OF A FRENCH PIRATE.

Baltimore Monday 31st. Augt. 1807

My dear Flora

I have been much gratified by hearing that you were well upon the Receipt of your different letters to Anne, and as her letters to you are more in the domestick Style, I shall in this Instance, break thro the promise I made that you should not hear from me during your absence. This promise, I hope you will attribute to the proper Cause, not that I had a disinclination to write to my dear Sister, but that I had not any thing material to say, more than she would hear from Anne. But by way of amusement I shall now give you an Account of a little Cruize from which I returned yesterday.

Information being received in Town a Week since that a French Pirate was in our Bay, boarding, plundering, and insulting several of our inward bound Vessels, particularly the American Ship *Othello* from Liverpool, with Fall Goods, of whom she actually made a Prize, and was proceeding with her to Sea, but finding she could not get past our Capes without detection, she gave her up again. Upon this, a part of Capt. Samuel, and Capt. Jos. Steretts Companies, to the number of 50 men, Capt. Porter of the U. S. Navy, 15 masters of Vessels and Crews, consisting of 100 men in all, volunteered their Services to take her. We embarked on board an American Schooner, armed and fitted for the occasion, with four six Pound Cannon &cª We proceeded down the Bay on Thursday Evening at 5 o'Clock. Nothing of consequence occured, except hailing several Vessels we met, until 4 o'Clock next day, when a very heavy squall came on, which obliged us all except the Seamen to get below. About 5 o'Clock we got round the headland of Patuxent River, which is 70 miles from hence. It being now cleared away and calm,

we discovered to our Joy the Pirate, laying at Anchor close in Shore, with the French Flag flying. We received orders to load with Ball, and hold ourselves in readiness to leap on deck when ordered. As soon as the Pirate saw us, five of his men leaped into their Boat and pulled for shore, upon which we fired a large Gun at him, with a Round and Grape Shott, which scattered about him but did not strike. The Volunteers were then ordered on deck, ranged in Company, with fixed Bayonets ready to pour in a Volly of Musketry if requisite. Our Boat was launched, the Schooner brought to Anchor, within a short distance of the Pirate, a detachment from each Company with Lieut. Sullivan (of our Company) and Capt. Cowper, a Sea Captain at their Head, with Orders to board the Prize. While they were proceeding we gave her another six Pounder with Grape, upon which they struck the French Flag. Capt. Porter then hailed, telling them, that if the least resistance was made to the Boats Crew going on board, that no quarters should be given. Our Boat took possession of her immediately, and she proved to be a small Pilot Boat Schooner called the *General Massena*, with 50 Muskets ready loaded, about 18 Boarding Knives &c[a]—only 3 men were found on board, who were brought Prisoners on board of us. We weighed Anchors, and proceeded home again with our Prize in tow. All this time the French Ship *Patriot* of 74 Guns lay in Sight, at long Gun shot, without shewing any interestedness on the occasion. When opposite Annapolis yesterday morning (Sunday) at 9 o'Clock the Governor of the State, and a number of Citizens came off in two armed Schooners, also the Barge belonging to the French Frigate *L'Eole* lying there; they fired Salutes and cheered three times, which was returned. The Governor communicated that 5 of the Pirate's Crew had the day before been taken Prisoners & were in Annapolis Goal. We also met two other Schooners going down from Baltimore with Rifle Companies on board. Lieut. Calhoun went with them, and I have just heard that they have this morning returned with the 5 men who fled from the Prize whom they found in Chains on board the *Patriot*, having gone there for protection, but were disappointed, by being made Prisoners. All this clearly proves

that the French Ships did not sanction this Pirate, or plunderer of neutral Property in our own Harbours.

Of 25 Men which constituted her Crew at first 13 are now in our Goal & the rest most probably will be taken. We have received the thanks of our Officers &c^{a} for our spirited Conduct on the Occasion and is a sure pledge that in the hour of real danger to our Country we may count with Confidence on the alacrity of the Volunteer Associations throughout the Union to stand forward in the support of her rights and her Honor. Having delivered our Prisoners yesterday to the Commander of our Fort we landed about 2 o'Clock amidst the discharge of Cannon and Aclamations of Thousands of Spectators, marched thro the City and thus ended the Cruize.

Altho I have not a doubt of your having spent an agreeable time of it at M^{r} Jackson's I am happy in the Idea of so soon seeing you at home. It is a pity you did not see Cousin James, who I think much improved. I hope the Girls and he will return in the Fall and that we will enjoy ourselves together. I refer you to Anne's letter for other news. My Compt^{s} to M^{r} Jackson and all your Ladies.

My dear Flora your affec^{t} Brother

John R. Caldwell

Wednesday 2nd Sept^{r} The mail of to day brings the news of the total defeat of the Russians after excessive hard fighting and great Slaughter on both sides, Koningsborg and Memel in possession of the French. the Russians had sued for an Armistice of one month which was granted & it was generally believed it would be followed up by a general peace on the Continent. Indeed it is said a Congress was called for that purpose. England will now have to fight her Battles singlehanded. It is also said that the Floridas are purchased by this Country for four Millions of Dollars two of which have been already paid.

THE PROTECTION SOCIETY OF MARYLAND.

In 1816 a number of the leading citizens of Baltimore, believing that many negroes were unjustly deprived of their freedom, formed themselves into a society for their protection. A printed copy of the Constitution of this society, with the original signatures, in manuscript, is in the possession of the editor, who thinks it worth reproducing as a matter of history.

Preamble.

We, the undersigned, desirous of establishing a society for ensuring protection to the people of color who are now free, and to those who, at a future period, will be entitled to their freedom, deem it necessary to state specifically our views and objects.

To avoid all possibility of misrepresentation, we make this declaration at the outset, that we will not interfere with the legal rights of masters over their slaves. Whatever may be our private opinions, the abolition of slavery is not our object. So long as slavery is sanctioned by the laws of Maryland, so long does it become the duty of every good citizen to reverence those laws. But a numerous class of these people are already free, and that freedom is guaranteed to them by the same laws that protect every other man in his person and property. If the laws can be openly violated or covertly eluded, if a freeman, in short, whether black or white, can be kidnapped and sold for a slave, every man has a direct personal interest in repressing so daring an outrage against the laws of the land; we all have an interest in maintaining the integrity of the laws, and we do not see why the man who would seize a black man and clandestinely rob him of his freedom, would not be guilty of a similar outrage on the freedom of the whites, if the opportunity offered and a market could be found for the sale of his victims. This shameful practice of kidnapping free negroes and disposing of them as slaves, has been carried on to an extent

so alarming as to render a combination for the purpose of suppressing so scandalous and illegal a traffic, indispensable.

There is another class of people of color who are entitled to their freedom after a term of years. The masters of these unhappy men have, in many instances, on their death beds, made provisions in their wills for their freedom. By passing into the hands of persons more avaricious, or less humane than their former masters, these devoted men have been clandestinely sold as slaves for life, by which the benevolent intentions of the testators, the laws of the land, and the sacred rights of humanity and justice, have been equally outraged and profaned. Some of this unhappy class are children—most of them ignorant, and all unable to protect themselves from a foul conspiracy of kidnappers.

By the laws of Maryland, a negro discovered without his free papers may be taken up and confined in jail as a runaway, and if he does not produce the evidence of his freedom, is liable to be sold as a slave. It has frequently, to the disgrace and scandal of our jurisprudence, happened, that these miserable beings thus taken up and imprisoned, not being able, in their state of confinement, to procure the documents, within the time allowed for their production, have afterwards, as a consequence, been sold for slaves. Thus has a law originally intended for the protection of the rights of masters over their slaves, been made to bend to the views of a wicked and unprincipled set of free-booters, who are engaged in entrapping and enslaving freemen, who dare thus, in defiance of every sacred principle, to prostrate all law and justice at the shrine of their guilty avarice. It is to preserve the dignity of the State of Maryland, and to pay a due respect to the jurisprudence by which it is governed, that we call on our fellow citizens to unite, and to assist us in our endeavors to give to the law its proper tone and energy, and to preserve the sacred rights of humanity from such daring and wanton violation.

With a view the more effectually to accomplish this object, we have submitted the following plan of a

CONSTITUTION.

Article I.

This Society shall be called "THE PROTECTION SOCIETY OF MARYLAND."

Article II.

Any man may become a member of this Society by paying Three Dollars to the Treasurer thereof.

Article III.

The officers of the Society shall consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, four Counsellors and a Standing Committee of six members, to be called the *Examining Committee*—all of which shall be chosen annually by ballot.

Article IV.

The President, or in his absence, one of the Vice-Presidents, shall preside in all the meetings, and subscribe all the public acts of the Society. The President or either of the Vice-Presidents in his absence, or any two of the examining committee, shall have power to call a special meeting of the Society. There shall be a stated meeting of the Society every three months. Six members shall constitute a quorum to do business.

Article V.

The Secretaries shall keep a fair record of the proceedings of the Society, and shall correspond with such persons as shall be judged necessary to promote the views and objects of the Society.

Article VI.

The Treasurer shall keep all monies and funds of the Society, and shall, when in funds, pay all orders signed by the President, or one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, or by any two of the examining committee, which orders shall be his vouchers for his expenditures. He shall, before he enters on his office, give bonds of not less than five hundred dollars for the faithful discharge of his duties.

Article VII.

It shall be the duty of at least one member of the examining committee to enquire into every case where application is made for the interposition of the Society, and if on such examination he or they shall, after consulting one or more of the counsellors, be of opinion that it is the duty of the Society to interpose, he or they shall take such measures as the nature of the case may require, to protect the rights of the person or persons on whose behalf the application is made. But no petition for freedom, nor any legal proceeding on behalf of the Society in favor of any colored person, or for the protection of the rights of any persons who are the objects of this Society, shall be commenced without the advice of one of the counsellors, and it shall be the duty of the counsellors to give advice in all cases when applied to by one or more of the examining committee.

Article VIII.

The members of this Society shall pay an annual contribution of Two Dollars, to defray the expenses of the Society. The Society shall also have power to levy such a tax on the members as shall be necessary to defray the expenses, and accomplish the objects of the Society. This tax, and the annual contribution shall be collected by the Treasurer, and any member who shall neglect to pay either for the space of three months after it is demanded, shall cease to be a member.

Article IX.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall, *virtute officii*, be members of the examining committee.

Article X.

Every person, on becoming a member, shall subscribe to this Constitution.

Article XI.

It shall be the duty of the Secretaries to report the proceedings of the Society at every meeting.

Article XII.

The Society shall have the power of making such By-Laws as may be necessary to carry into effect all the objects for which the Society is formed.

James Inglis, *Minister*
George Brown
Robert Oliver
Robt. Gilmor
J. A. Buchanan
Jno. McCulloch
Lyde Goodwin
John Brice, Jr.
S. Smith
Chr. Johnston
Isaac McKim
Robt. G. Harper
John Purviance
Edwd. J. Coale
Colin Mackenzie
John Caldwell
David Hoffman
John Chapman
Elisha Browne
Saml. Byrnes
John C. Richards
Saml. Baily
R. D. Mullikin
Geo. Baxley
Tho. Harwood
Wm. H. McIntire
Saml. Keerl
Samuel Baker
D. F. Magruder
Th. Baltzell
John Stricker
Aaron Levering
Moses Sheppard
Wm. Eaton
Elisha Rogers
William D. McKim
Henry Stickney
James Fulton
Wm. Patterson
Chas. Ghequiere

WILL OF GEORGE CALVERT.

From the Registry of the Probate Division of the High Court of Justice.

In the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

The Will of George Calvert Esqr. Sonne to George Calvert Lord Baltimore.

In the name of God, Amen. I George Calvert third sonne to George Calvert Lo: Baltimore infirme in body but pfect in vse of reason and judgment do freely conceive and make this my last will and testament to remove all breach of Charitie and dissention about those things I shall leaue here behind mee First I humbly bequeath my soule into the hands of o^{r} Creater and Lord signed by Baptisme with the Character of a Christian professing before God and all the world that I dye a true member of the Catholicke Church beseeching Almighty God to be mercifull vnto mee and bring me to be partaker of his Glorie to whome be all honor Amen. Secondly I bequeath my body to the earth from whence it was taken and willingly doe accept the death thereof in satisfaction for my sinnes beseeching my sweet Redeemer Christ Jesus to offer it vpp in vnion with his and dignify it to some part of satisfaction mingling it in the holy Chalice of his blood as a sacrifice of amends for my grieuous transgressions hopeing He will accept it in odour of sweetnesse, Amen. Thirdly as concerning that temporall estate w^{ch} God hath giuen mee I order it in this manner following to the good of my soule & of my neighbour: Whereas by the will of George Lo: Baltimore my deceased father a portion of monye was giuen to mee and the said monyes left in trust with the Right Honoble the Lo: Cottington and Sir William Ashton Kt. to be by them disposed of to my vse and benefitt in such order and forme as by the said Will appeareth more at large Now I do hereby will and appoint these said monyes and the increase and proffit thereof and the vse and trust w^{ch} doth

appertaine vnto me at the time of my decease or at any tyme after either in the hands of the said Lord Cottington and Sir William Ashton or in the hands of any other pson whatsoeuer shall be disposed of in manner and forme following:

Item, I giue to my welbeloued brother Cecil Lord Baltimore and my brother William Peasely Esqr. one hundred pounds.

Item I giue vnto my welbeloued brother Leonard Caluert one hundred and fifty pounds.

Item I giue vnto my very good frinde Mr. Richard Gerard all such goods merchandizes and commodities as shall be brought into Virginia or Maryland in any shipp or shipps from England for me and my vse by this next returne of shipping into these parts.

Item I giue vnto my brother Peasely my sister Peasely and my sister Ellin Caluert each of them fiue pounds to bee bestowed in a golden crosse that each of them may wear for my remembrance.

These my legacies being first pformed in manner as they are heere appointed by me I giue all other monyes or whatsoeuer goods else belonging to me vnto my welbeloued brother Henry Caluert.

My Executors w^{ch} I doe desire and appoint to see this my will thus pformed are my welbeloued brothers Leonard Caluert and William Peasely Esqr. Dated at St. Maries in the prouince of Maryland the tenth day of July 1634.

GEORGE CALUERT

Witnesse:

JO. BOLES ROBERT VAUGHAN
JOHN WELLS CUTHBERT FENWICK

Proved 19th January 1634 (O. S.)

I certify that this copy has been examined with the Official copy of the original Will deposited in this Registry, and that it is a true copy thereof

(Signed) A. MUSGRAVE
Registrar

REVIEW.

Religious Liberty in Early Maryland. Lewis Beeman Browne.[1] It is to be regretted that the facts connected with the establishment of religious toleration in Maryland, facts which are well established, and, by students, as well understood as any facts of history, should still occasionally be made the subject of prejudiced misconception.

In the *Maryland Churchman* for September, 1906, there appeared an article on this subject by the Rev. Lewis Beeman Browne, the statements in which, and the conclusions drawn therefrom, are, in view of the means of information which are readily accessible, somewhat surprising.

As indicating the degree of accuracy that is to be found in this article, it may be noted that in the first paragraph it is stated that the Charter of Maryland was granted by King James I. It was from his successor Charles I. In the next sentence it is stated that the authority of the Proprietor almost equaled that of an absolute monarch. There seems to be some confusion here as to the nature of absolutism. Though Lord Baltimore was designated as "Absolute Lord and Proprietary," in matters of legislation he was merely given authority "to enact laws with the advice and assent of the freemen or their representatives." The distinctive prerogative of an absolute monarch is the making of laws without the assistance or sanction of the representatives of the people.

It is next stated that "Maryland was not the first place where a man was free to believe and worship as he saw fit. In the old world there was Holland and in the new Rhode Island."

In the time of Alva, the Netherlands had suffered severely at the hands of the Inquisition, and as a consequence, coercion in matters of religion was not favorably regarded in that country; and at the time of the settlement of Maryland the Thirty Years War was in progress, with the Roman Catholic and the Protestant

[1] *The Maryland Churchman*, September, 1906.

princes of Germany arrayed against each other in bitter strife. Under these circumstances absolute neutrality was for Holland the wise policy if its independence and autonomy were to be preserved.

As to Rhode Island, that colony was not established until 1636, and its charter was granted in 1644.

Religious liberty was proclaimed and established in Maryland in 1634, and its reality is shown by the fact that as early as 1638 a Roman Catholic offender was tried before three Roman Catholic judges, convicted and punished for interfering with the religious meeting of certain Protestants and speaking disrespectfully of Protestant ministers. Religious liberty was established in Maryland before the colony of Rhode Island was organized.

Moreover, the quality and degree of religious freedom allowed under the Rhode Island "Compact" were of very different character from those in Maryland. Here, the avowed purpose was "the more quiet and peaceable government of this Province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants thereof." To this end and to avoid cause of strife it was forbidden under pain of punishment to call one "a heretic, schismatic, idolater, Puritan, Presbyterian, popish priest, Jesuit, papist, Lutheran, Calvinist, ... etc., or any other name or term relating to religion in a reproachful manner."

In contrast with these gentle requirements in Maryland, where even forbearance and courtesy were inculcated, is to be placed, as illustrative of the difference in temper and influence between Lord Baltimore and Roger Williams, the correspondence of the latter. The coarse and violent terms in which he vilified the Church of Rome are unfit for publication in this Magazine. The curious who may wish to consult examples of 17th century Billingsgate can find them in *Letters of Roger Williams*, pp. 306, 307, 310.

The writer of the article under consideration impugns Lord Baltimore's motives. But there seems to be a confusion in his mind between George, the first Lord Baltimore, to whom the Charter of Maryland was promised, and Cecilius, the second Baron, to whom it was granted and who was the founder of the Province. We know what were the Proprietary's acts; to question his

motives, otherwise than to conclude that his acts expressed his intentions, is a dangerous undertaking. It is an easy and silly thing in argument to set up a man of straw, then to destroy it and denounce it because of its fragility.

The reasons that led Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, to establish religious liberty in Maryland are fully and clearly set forth in a communication from his son to the Lords of the Committee of Trade and Plantations, printed in Maryland Archives, Proceedings of Council, 1667–1687–8, pp. 267, 268.

The Rev. Mr. Browne seems to think that the Roman Catholics owed their enjoyment of religious liberty to the Protestant majority in the legislative body, but he overlooks the fact that the Council was appointed by the Proprietary, and at the time of the establishment of religious liberty, and until 1649 was composed exclusively of Roman Catholics. Nothing could have been done in the way of legislation without their concurrence, and it was this very Council, which prior to the Act of 1649, enforced the provisions of Lord Baltimore's proclamation.

The credit of the establishment of religious liberty in Maryland is not due to the Roman Catholic Church or to any Protestant majority in the Assembly. It was due to the wisdom, liberality of mind, and far-sighted statesmanship of one man, Cecilius, Lord Baltimore, the first Proprietary.

The facts of history are as follows:

1. At the foundation of the colony in 1634 Lord Baltimore established religious liberty by proclamation, and he was at the time a Roman Catholic.

2. In 1649, deeming it expedient, in view of the events in England, to appoint a Protestant Governor, but doubting whether the Protestants would carry out his policy, he secured the passage of a law establishing religious liberty by enactment of the Provincial Assembly. The original draft of the law was prepared in England under his direction. At the same time he exacted of the Governor an oath that he would not himself or by any person, directly or indirectly, trouble, molest or discountenance any person whatsoever in the Province professing to believe in Jesus Christ, *and in particular no Roman Catholic*, for, or in respect of, his or

her religion, nor in his or her free exercise thereof. The motive of requiring this act at this time is thus made clear. It was to get the Protestants committed to the policy of religious liberty already established.

3. That Lord Baltimore's distrust of the sincerity of the Protestants' attachment to religious liberty was fully justified, is shown by the fact that when his authority was overthrown, during the Commonwealth in England, the Puritans, in 1654, repealed the Act, and passed one providing "that this liberty be not extended to *popery* or *prelacy*."

4. Upon the restoration of the Proprietary's authority in 1658, the old Act of 1649 was revived.

5. Under the Royal Governors, in 1692, the Church of England was established by law, and shortly afterwards followed restrictive Acts imposing disabilities upon Roman Catholics.

Religious liberty, as a rule of law, was established in Maryland for the first time in history. Its establishment was due to a Proprietary who was a Roman Catholic. Its overthrow was effected by men who were Puritans; it was subsequently restored under a Proprietary who was a Roman Catholic; and still later its scope was greatly restricted under influences which, officially at least, were attached to the Church of England.

In a foot note at the end of his article Rev. Mr. Browne states that "For a long time the Maryland history used in the public schools of this State was Scarff's. Scarff was a Roman Catholic politician and journalist." Whether the implication is that Roman Catholics have no right to produce histories, or that having produced them, however meritorious, they should not be tolerated in the public schools, is not clear.

The facts about this book are as follows:

When Mr. Scharf was collecting material for his large history in three volumes which appeared in 1879, he placed his manuscript at the disposal of Dr. William Hand Browne, now Professor of English Literature in the Johns Hopkins University, for the production of a small school history. Dr. Browne, who is not a Roman Catholic, wrote this history and it is a model of fairness and impartiality. In view of Mr. Scharf's courtesy in giving

him the use of material, Dr. Browne placed his name on the title page, and the copyright was issued to them jointly. This book was published in 1878, and in spite of its merits was used in but very few schools and for a short time only. It is now out of print.

The statements in the foot note are no more accurate than those contained in the article itself.

TILGHMAN FAMILY.

(*Continued from page* 284.)

14. James Tilghman[9] (*Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald*[6]) was born 6 December 1716. He was a lawyer and began the practice of his profession in Talbot County, which he represented in the Maryland Assembly for the years 1762 and 1763, (House Journals). Shortly after this he removed to Philadelphia. Gov. Sharpe, in a letter dated 8 May 1764, alludes to him as "Mr. James Tilghman lately Burgess for Talbot and one of our first-rate lawyers, but now settled in Philadelphia" (Md. Archives, xiv, 160). James Tilghman was elected a Common Councilman of Philadelphia, 2 October, 1764 (Penna. Archives, 2nd Ser., ix, 733), was a member of the Council of Pennsylvania 1767–76 (*ibid.* 625), and was commissioned Secretary of the Pennsylvania Land Office, 1 January 1769 (*ibid.* 628). He returned to Maryland in 1777 and settled at Chestertown, where he died 24 August 1793. He married Anna, daughter of Tench Francis of Fausley, Talbot Co., Md., and had issue :—

24. i. Tench Tilghman,[10] b. 25 Dec. 1744; d. 18 April 1786.
ii. Richard Tilghman, b. 17 Dec. 1746; d. unmarried 24 Nov. 1796.
25. iii. James Tilghman, b. 1 Jan. 1748; d. 24 Nov. 1796.
26. iv. William Tilghman, b. 12 Aug. 1756; d. 30 April 1827.
27. v. Philemon Tilghman, b. 29 Nov. 1760; d. 11 Jan. 1797.
vi. Thomas Ringgold Tilghman, b. 17 Aug. 1765; d. unmarried 29 Dec. 1789.
vii. Anna Maria Tilghman, mar. William Hemsley, and d. s. p.
viii. Elizabeth Tilghman, mar. Maj. James Lloyd of Kent Co.
ix. Mary Tilghman, d. unmarried.
x. Henrietta Maria Tilghman, b. 26 Feb. 1763; d. 2 March 1796; mar. her cousin, Lloyd Tilghman (son of Matthew).

15. Matthew Tilghman [9] (*Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald,*[6]) *clarum et venerabile nomen,* was born 17 February 1718. He was adopted at the age of fifteen by his childless cousin, Maj. Gen. Matthew Tilghman Ward (*Mag.*, p. 281), from whom he inherited the handsome estate of Bayside in Talbot County. According to the statement of his daughter, Mrs. Anna Maria Tilghman, he was commissioned in 1741, Captain of a troop of horse organized to protect the outlying settlements of the Eastern Shore from Indian incursions. The same year he was commissioned one of the Justices of Talbot County and was continuously a member of the County Court from that date until 1775, being one of the Quorum from 1749, and Presiding Justice from 1769 (Commission Book). He represented Talbot County in the Maryland Assembly from 1751 to 1758, sat for Queen Anne County from 1760 to 1761, and again for Talbot from 1768 to 1774. In 1773 and 1774 he was Speaker of the House (House Journals). Throughout the Revolution he played a leading part in the affairs of Maryland. He was chosen Chairman of the Committee of Correspondence in December 1774, and of the Council of Safety in July 1775. He was President of the Maryland Convention from 1774 to 1776, and headed every delegation sent by the Convention to Congress. In June 1776 he was summoned from Congress to attend the Convention at Annapolis, and was President of the new Convention which met August 14th to prepare a new form of government for the State. It was this alone which prevented his signing the Declaration of Independence. He was member of Congress from 1774 to 1777, when he resigned his seat to take his place as Senator from Talbot in the first Assembly held under the new Constitution of Maryland. He continued to serve in this capacity until 1781, when he was again chosen Senator but did not serve out his term. After the declaration of peace in 1783, feeling the infirmities of advancing age, he resigned all his public trusts, and retired to his estate in Talbot County to enjoy a well earned repose. He died of a paralytic stroke 4 May 1790. As a statesman Matthew Tilghman takes high rank. He exerted a profound influence upon the policy of Maryland during the trying times of the Revolution, and upon the formation of the constitution of the State. He has justly been called by McMahon "the patriarch of the colony." He married, 6 April 1741, Anna Lloyd (b. 13 Feb. 1723; d. 15 March 1794) daughter of

James Lloyd and sister of his brother William Tilghman's wife (*Mag.* 283). They had issue :—

i. Margaret Tilghman,[10] b. 13 Jan. 1742; d. 14 March 1817; mar. 23 June 1763, Charles Carroll Barrister (b. 22 March 1723; d. 23 March 1783), and had two children, twins, who died in infancy.
ii. Matthew Ward Tilghman, b. 1743; d. 17 March 1753.
28. iii. Richard Tilghman, b. 28 Jan. 1746; d. 28 May 1805.
29. iv. Lloyd Tilghman, b. 27 July 1749; d. 1811.
v. Anna Maria Tilghman, b. 17 July 1755; d. 17 Jan. 1843; mar. 1783, her cousin, Col. Tench Tilghman.

16. Lieut. Col. Richard Tilghman[10] (*Richard,*[9] *Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald*[6]) of the Hermitage, Queen Anne County, was born 11 May 1739, and died in 1810. He was commissioned, 6 Jan. 1776, Lieut. Col. of the Lower Battalion of Queen Anne Co. (Journal of Convention of 1776, p. 80). He married his cousin Elizabeth Tilghman (b. 5 Dec. 1748; d. 7 June 1767) daughter of his uncle, Col. Edward Tilghman, and had an only son

i. Richard Edward Tilghman,[11] d. before his father, unmarried.

17. Col. Peregrine Tilghman[10] (*Richard,*[9] *Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald*[6]) of Hope, Talbot County, was born 24 Jan. 1741 and died in 1807. He was member, for Talbot Co., of the Maryland Convention of 1775 (Md. Arch. xi. 3), was commissioned, 9 April 1778, Colonel of the 4th Battalion of Talbot Co. (*ibid.* xxi, 24), and was member of the State Senate 1787–88 (Senate Journals). He married Deborah daughter of Col. Robert Lloyd of Hope and Anna Maria Tilghman his wife (*Mag.*, p. 282) and had issue :—

i. Robert Lloyd Tilghman,[11] b. 13 May 1778; d. 12 June 1823; mar. 16 April 1807, Henrietta Maria, daughter of Col. Joseph Forman and Mary Hemsley, his wife.
ii. Anna Maria Tilghman, mar. James Earle of Easton.
iii. Tench Tilghman, b. 18 April 1782; d. 16 April 1827; mar. Margaret, daughter of Col. Tench Tilghman.
iv. William Hemsley Tilghman, b. 16 Dec. 1784; d. Dec. 1863; mar. Maria Lloyd, daughter of Philemon Hemsley, but had no issue.
v. Elizabeth Tilghman, mar. John Custis Wilson of Somerset Co.

18. James Tilghman[10] (*Richard,*[9] *Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald*[6]) of Melfield, Queen Anne County, was born 2 August 1743 and died 19 April 1809. He represented his county in the Convention of 1775 (Md. Arch. xi, 3), was member of the Council of Safety in 1776 (*ibid.* 103, 447), and was commissioned, 7 August 1777, Attorney General of Maryland (Md. Arch. xvi. 327). He was member of Legislature

1788–89, and in 1791 was appointed Chief Judge of the judicial district composed of Cecil, Kent, Queen Anne, and Talbot Counties. From 1804 to 1809 he was judge of the Court of Appeals. He married, for his first wife, 19 Jan. 1769, Susanna (d. 24 Oct. 1774) daughter of Dr. George Steuart of Annapolis. He married, secondly, 19 Feb. 1778, Elizabeth daughter of Kinsey Johns of West River. Judge Tilghman had issue by his first wife Susanna Steuart:—

i. George Tilghman,[11] b. 11 Oct. 1771; d. 30 July 1792.
ii. Frisby Tilghman, b. 4 Aug. 1773; d. 14 April 1847; mar. 1°., 24 Feb. 1795, Anna Maria Ringgold (d. 21 Feb. 1817), 2°., 3 Sept. 1819, Louisa Lamar.
iii. Susanna Tilghman, b. 1774.

By his second wife, Elizabeth Johns, he had:—

i. Anna Maria Tilghman, b. 10 March 1779; mar. Peregrine Blake.
ii. Samuel Tilghman, b. 30 Aug. 1781; d. 19 Aug. 1782.
iii. Mary Tilghman, b. 6 Feb. 1783; mar. 3 Dec. 1801, Judge Richard Tilghman Earle (b. 23 June 1767; d. 8 Nov. 1843), whose accurate memoir of the Tilghman family, compiled in 1839, has been a valuable aid to the writer of this Genealogy.
iv. John Tilghman, of Centreville, b. 8 March 1785; mar. 1° Anna Katherine Tilghman, daughter of Richard[10] (Matthew[9]), 2° Ann, daughter of Lloyd Tilghman[10] (Matthew[9]).
v. Charles Carroll Tilghman, b. 26 Feb. 1788; d. Dec. 1861; mar. Mary Lloyd Tilghman, daughter of Richard[10] (Matthew[9]).
vi. Peregrine Tilghman, b. 31 March 1790; d. 1874; mar. Harriet Haddaway.

19. William Tilghman[10] (*Richard*,[9] *Richard*,[8] *Richard*,[7] *Oswald*[6]) of the White House, Queen Anne Co., was born 11 March 1745 and died in December 1800. He was thrice married. His first wife, Ann Kent, had no children. His second wife, Anna Maria daughter of Col. Robert Lloyd of Hope (*Mag.*, p. 282) had one child who died young. By his third wife, Eleanor widow of Thomas Whetenhall Rozer and daughter of Francis Hall, he had an only daughter,

i. Anna Maria Tilghman,[11] mar. Edward Tilghman[11] (Matthew,[10] Edward[9]).

20. Elizabeth Tilghman[10] (*Richard*,[9] *Richard*,[8] *Richard*,[7] *Oswald*[6]) was born 24 April 1749, and died in 1836. She married, 29 April 1771, William Cooke of Annapolis (d. 1817), son of John Cooke of Prince George's Co. and Sophia his wife daugher of Maj. Nicholas Sewall of St. Mary's Co., and had issue:—

i. Richard Cooke,[11] b. 10 May 1772, took the name of Tilghman in compliance with the will of his uncle, Richard Tilghman. He married 1° Elizabeth Van Wyck of Baltimore, 2° her sister, Frances Van Wyck, and left issue by his first wife.
ii. Catherine Cooke, b. 6 Aug. 1774; d. 4 Aug. 1849; mar. 7 Dec. 1793, Jonas Clapham (b. 31 May, 1763; d. 28 Aug. 1837).
iii. William Cooke, b. 29 March. 1776; mar. Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Tilghman[10] (Edward[9]) of Philadelphia.
iv. Anna Maria Cooke, b. 20 April, 1777; mar. Benjamin Ogle, son of Hon. Benjamin Ogle, Governor of Maryland, 1798–1801.
v. Elizabeth Cooke, b. March 1783; mar. Robert Gilmor and d. s. p.
vi. Sophia Cooke, b. 5 Jan. 1785; d. unmarried.
vii. Susanna Frisby Cooke, b. 27 Aug. 1786; mar. William Elie Williams of Frederick Co., son of Gen. Otho Holland Williams. Their grand-daughter, Miss Susan Williams, daughter of Otho Holland Williams, is the present owner of the Hermitage.
viii. Francis Cooke, d. 1843.
ix. George Cooke, b. 25 Aug. 1791; d. 7 Oct. 1849; mar. 21 June 1814, Eleanor Addison Dall (b. 5 Nov. 1795; d. 22 Feb. 1853).

21. Richard Tilghman[10] (*William,*[9] *Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald*[6]) of Grosses, Talbot Co., was born 6 April 1740 and died 12 April 1809. He married, 2 August 1784, Mary (b. 21 Sept. 1766; d. 1 Dec. 1790) daughter of John Gibson of Talbot Co., and had issue :—

i. William Gibson Tilghman,[11] b. 24 Sept. 1785; d. 20 June 1844; mar. 13 Dec. 1808, Anna (b. 14 March 1788; d. 29 Sept. 1860), daughter of Daniel Polk of Sussex Co., Del.
ii. John Lloyd Tilghman, b. 21 May 1788; mar. Maria, daughter of John Gibson of Magothy, A. Arundel Co.
iii. Richard Tilghman, b. 26 March 1790; d. in infancy.

22. [1] Edward Tilghman[10] (*Edward,*[9] *Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald*[6]) of Philadelphia, was born 11 Feb. 1750/1, and died 1 Nov. 1815. He married, 26 May 1774, Elizabeth (b. 10 Nov. 1751) daughter of Chief Justice Benjamin Chew of Pennsylvania, and had issue :—

i. Edward Tilghman,[11] b. 27 Feb. 1779; mar. Rebecca Waln.
ii. Benjamin Tilghman, b. 1 Jan. 1785; mar. Anna Maria McMurtrie.
iii. Elizabeth Tilghman, mar. 24 Jan. 1804, William Cooke of Baltimore (see above).
iv. Mary Anna Tilghman, mar. William Rawle of Philadelphia.

23. Matthew Tilghman[10] (*Edward,*[9] *Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald*[6]) was born 5 June 1760. He was member of Legislature for Kent County 1789, and 1793–94, and was Speaker of the House in 1794 (House Journals). He married, in 1788, Sarah daughter of Thomas Smyth of Chestertown, and had issue :—

[1] On p. 284 the running number 22 should be prefixed to the name of Edward, and not to that of his brother Richard.

i. Edward Tilghman,[11] mar. Anna Maria, daughter of William Tilghman of the White House, and had one daughter, Eleanor Sarah Tilghman.[12]
ii. Henry Tilghman, mar. Martha, daughter of Dr. Benj. Hall; no issue.
iii. Sarah Tilghman, mar. Francis Hall of Queen Anne Co., no issue.

24. Col. Tench Tilghman[10] (*James*,[9] *Richard*,[8] *Richard*,[7] *Oswald*[6]) of Plimhimmon, Talbot Co., was born 25 Dec. 1744. He was commissioned, in June 1776, Captain of a Pennsylvania battalion of the Flying Camp; was on duty at Washington's headquarters as Military Secretary from 8 August 1776; and was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel, Aide de Camp, and Military Secretary to Gen. Washington 1 April 1777. A brave and efficient officer, he was selected to bear to Congress the news of the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown. By act of Congress, 29 October 1781, it was "Resolved, that the Board of War be directed to present to Lieut. Colonel Tilghman, in the name of the United States in Congress assembled, a horse properly caparisoned and an elegant sword in testimony of their high opinion of his merit and ability." Col. Tilghman served until 23 Dec. 1783. He died 18 April 1786 leaving, in the words of Gen. Washington, "as fair a reputation as ever belonged to a human character." He married, in 1783, Anna Maria Tilghman daughter of his uncle Matthew, and had issue:—

i. Margaret Tilghman,[11] b. 1784; mar. Tench Tilghman[11] (Peregrine[10]) of Hope.
ii. Elizabeth Tench Tilghman, b. 11 Oct. 1786; d. May 1852; mar. 25 April 1811, Nicholas Goldsborough of Oxford Neck.

25. James Tilghman[10] (*James*,[9] *Richard*,[8] *Richard*,[7] *Oswald*[6]) was born 2 January 1748, and died 24 November 1796. He represented Talbot County in the Legislature 1787–91, and was Associate Judge of the Talbot Co. Court. He married Elizabeth Buely and had issue:—

i. James Tilghman,[11] b. 1 May 1792; d. unmarried 22 March 1824.
ii. Maria Tilghman, d. unmarried.
iii. Elizabeth Tilghman, mar. Thomas Hemsley, son of Wm. Hemsley of Cloverfield.
iv. Ann Tilghman, mar. Robert Browne of Queen Anne Co.
v. Margaret Tilghman, mar. 1° Henry Goldsborough, 2° John Goldsborough.

26. William Tilghman[10] (*James*,[9] *Richard*,[8] *Richard*,[7] *Oswald*[6]) was born 12 Aug. 1756, and died 12 Aug. 1827. He was a member of the Maryland Convention to ratify the Federal

Constitution, and represented Kent County in the Legislature 1788–90. He was a member of the State Senate 1791–92, and in 1793 removed to Philadelphia. He was appointed, 3 March 1801, Presiding Judge of the Third Circuit, comprising part of Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, and, in May 1805, President of the Court of Common Pleas in the First District. He was made Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, 26 Feb. 1806. In 1824, he was elected President of the American Philosophical Society. Judge Tilghman married Margaret Elizabeth Allen of Philadelphia and had issue :—

i. Elizabeth Tilghman,[11] d. 17 June 1817 ; mar. Benjamin Chew and had an only daughter, who died in infancy.

27. Philemon Tilghman[10] (*James,*[9] *Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald*[6]) was born 29 Nov. 1760. He was an officer in the British Navy, but returned to Maryland after the war, and died at his farm, called the Golden Square, in Queen Anne Co., 11 Jan. 1797. He married Harriet Milbanke, daughter of Admiral Mark Milbanke, R. N., third son of Sir Ralph Milbanke, Bart., and had issue :—

i. Richard Tilghman,[11] mar. Augusta Elphinstone.
ii. Harriet Tilghman, d. s. p. 1856 ; mar. Rev. Richard Cockburn, Prebend of Winchester Cathedral and Vicar of Boxley, Kent.
iii. Emily Tilghman, d. 1818 ; mar. Jeremiah Hoffman of Baltimore.
iv. Caroline Tilghman, d. unmarried 1868.
v. Charlotte Tilghman, d. 26 June 1838 ; mar. 30 Aug. 1813, Sir Molyneux Hyde Nepean, Bart.

28. Maj. Richard Tilghman[10] (*Matthew,*[9] *Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald*[6]) was born 28 Jan. 1746, and died 28 May 1805. He was commissioned, 8 May 1777, First Major of the 5th Battalion of Queen Anne Co. (Md. Arch. xvi, 243). He married 1°, Margaret Tilghman (b. 24 Dec. 1744 ; d. 24 Dec. 1779) daughter of his uncle William of Grosses (*Mag.*, p. 283), and 2°, Mary Tilghman (b. 8 Sept. 1762 ; d. 18 Oct. 1793) daughter of his uncle Col. Edward of Wye (*Mag.*, p. 285). By his first wife Maj. Tilghman had issue :—

i. Anna Maria Tilghman,[11] b. 20 Aug. 1774 ; d. 15 Dec. 1858 ; mar. 5 Dec. 1797, Judge Nicholas Brice (b. 23 April 1771 ; d. 9 May 1851).
ii. Matthew Tilghman, b. 20 Sept. 1779 ; d. 21 Oct. 1828 ; mar. 1° Eleanor, daughter of Thos. Whetenhall Rozer, 2° Harriet Hynson of Kent Co.
iii. Eliza Tilghman, b. 22 Nov. 1779 ; mar. 1799, George Hoffman of Baltimore ; d. s. p.

Maj. Tilghman had issue by his second wife :—

i. Juliana Tilghman, b. 6 Dec. 1783; mar. 23 Oct. 1800, John Philemon Paca of Wye Island.
ii. Harriet Tilghman, b. 6 Dec. 1785; mar. Henry Brice of Baltimore, brother of Judge Nicholas Brice.
iii. Anna Catherine Tilghman, b. 26 April 1787; first wife of John Tilghman[11] (James[10]) of Centreville.
iv. Mary Lloyd Tilghman, b. 24 Nov. 1789; mar. 20 Nov. 1820, Charles Carroll Tilghman[11] (James[10]).

29. Lloyd Tilghman[10] (*Matthew,*[9] *Richard,*[8] *Richard,*[7] *Oswald*[6]) was born 27 July 1749, and died in 1811. He married, 22 Jan. 1785, Henrietta Maria Tilghman (b. 26 Feb. 1763; d. 2 March 1796) daughter of his uncle James, and had issue :—

i. James Tilghman,[11] b. 5 Feb. 1793; mar. Ann Shoemaker of Philadelphia.
ii. Lloyd Tilghman.
iii. Matthew Ward Tilghman.
iv. Anna Tilghman, b. 31 Dec. 1785; second wife of John Tilghman[11] (James[10]) of Centreville.
v. Henrietta Maria Tilghman, b. 30 March 1787; mar. Alexander Hemsley.
vi. Mary Tilghman.
vii. Elizabeth Tilghman, d. in infancy.

BROOKE FAMILY.

(*Continued from page* 289.)

25. Capt. Leonard Brooke[7] (*Leonard,*[6] *Baker,*[5] *Baker,*[4] *Robert*[3]) of Prince George's County was born in 1728 and died in 1785. His age is given in a deposition as 29 years in 1757 (Pr. Geo. Co. Records), and his will, dated 27 Oct. 1783, was proved in Prince George's County 10 Feb. 1785. He was a sea captain and, in 1755, was commander of a vessel called the Horatio (Md. Gazette, 20 Feb. 1755). He was twice married. His first wife was Anne daughter of Henry Darnall of Portland Manor (Chancery, Lib. 1784–86, fol. 483), and his second wife Elizabeth is named in his will. Capt. Leonard Brooke had issue by his two wives :—

i. Leonard Brooke.[8]
ii. Baker Brooke.
iii. George Brooke.
iv. Anne Brooke.
v. Esther Brooke, mar. Henry Hill.
vi. Eleanor Brooke.
vii. Catherine Brooke.

26. Richard Brooke[7] (*Leonard,*[6] *Baker,*[5] *Baker,*[4] *Robert*[3]) of Charles County died in 1771. His will, dated 14 Jan. 1771, was proved in Charles County 9 April following. In it he appoints his "brother Leonard Brooke of Prince George's County" his executor and names the children given below. The name of his wife does not appear.
Richard Brooke had issue :—

i. Leonard Brooke.[8]
ii. Baker Brooke.
iii. James Brooke.
iv. Richard Brooke.
v. Anne Brooke.

27. Thomas Brooke[7] (*Thomas,*[6] *Thomas,*[5] *Thomas,*[4] *Robert*[3]) of Charles County was born 30 April 1706, and died in 1749. He married Sarah daughter of Col. George Mason of Gunston, Stafford Co., Va. According to the will of his brother, Dr. Richard Brooke (q. v.), she was his second wife. The name of the first wife does not appear, but she was probably the mother of the eldest son Thomas, while the two younger sons, Walter and Richard, were certainly the children of Sarah Mason. The will of Thomas Brooke, dated 2 Sept. 1748 and proved in Charles Co. 15 June 1749, mentions his wife Sarah, his sons Walter and Richard, his eldest son Thomas, and his brother Richard Brooke. To his wife and his two younger sons he leaves "the tract of land whereon I now dwell, near Chickamuxon in Charles County."
Thomas Brooke had issue :—

i. Thomas Brooke[8] (probably by first wife).
ii. Walter Brooke, Commodore in the Virginia Navy 1775–78 (Va. Mag. i, 331). He married Ann Darrell and d. 1798 leaving issue.
iii. Richard Brooke.

28. Walter Brooke[7] (*Thomas,*[6] *Thomas,*[5] *Thomas,*[4] *Robert*[3]) of Prince George's County was born 29 Dec. 1707, and died 9 March 1740/1. He married Mary Ashcom Greenfield daughter of James Greenfield of Prince George's Co., who names his "daughter Mary Brooke" in his will (dated 21 Nov. 1733, proved 26 March 1734). She is also mentioned in the will of her aunt Winifred Ashcom (dated 20 Oct. 1717, proved 27 March 1718) as "my niece Mary Ashcom Greenfield." Walter Brooke in his will (dated 1 January 1740/1, proved 19 June 1741) mentions his wife Mary Ashcom Brooke, his son Thomas Brooke under 19 years of age, and his four daughters of whom only Sarah is named.

All five of his children are named in a deed dated 9 August 1738 (Pr. Geo. Co. Records) and in the final account of his estate. Walter Brooke and Mary Ashcom (Greenfield) his wife had issue:—

i. Thomas Brooke,[8] under 19 in 1740; d. intestate 1768. He married 1°, 16 Sept. 1753, Frances, daughter of Thomas Jennings of Prince George's Co., 2° Elizabeth ———, and had an only son (by his first wife), Isaac Brooke[9] (b. 21 March 1759; d. 1785) who married, in August 1780, Sarah Ann daughter of Alex. Magruder of Prince George's Co., and had an only son, Thomas Alexander Brooke[10] (b. 3 Oct. 1782).
ii. Martha Brooke.
iii. Anne Brooke.
iv. Lucy Brooke.
v. Sarah Brooke.

29. Dr. Richard Brooke[7] (*Thomas*,[6] *Thomas*,[5] *Thomas*,[4] *Robert*[3]) of Prince George's County was born 2 June 1716, and died 13 July 1783. His will, dated 26 April 1771, was proved in Pr. George's Co. 11 Aug. 1783. In it he names his wife Rachel; his son Thomas; his brother Rev. Clement Brooke; Isaac Brooke "grandson of my dearly beloved brother Walter Brooke"; and his nephew Richard Brandt. In case of failure of issue of these devisees he entails his estate of Brookfield, 1, on the issue of Peter Dent, deceased, and testator's sister Mary; 2, on the issue of his sister Eleanor and her husband Col. Samuel Beall; 3, on the heirs of "my brother Thomas and his second wife sister to Col. Mason of Virginia." Dr. Richard Brooke married, 1 Nov. 1767, Rachel daughter of Thomas Gantt of Pr. George's Co. and Rachel his wife daughter of Col. John Smith of Calvert Co. (Family Record). Mrs. Rachel Brooke died 28 June 1793 in the fiftieth year of her age.

Dr. Richard Brooke and Rachel (Gantt) his wife had issue:—

i. Frederick Thomas Brooke,[8] b. 27 July 1770.
ii. Sarah Brooke, b. 15 March 1772; d. 27 August 1849; mar. 23 July 1789, Samuel Harper (d. 25 Dec. 1834, aged 69), and had issue.

30. Rev. Clement Brooke[7] (*Thomas*,[6] *Thomas*,[5] *Thomas*,[4] *Robert*[3]) of Prince George's County was born 1 Sept. 1730, and died 18 Nov. 1800 (Family Record). He married, 19 May 1774, Anne Murdock of Pr. George's Co. and had issue:—

i. Kitty Murdock Brooke,[8] b. 11 March 1775.
ii. Thomas Brooke, b. 29 August 1776.
iii. Anne Addison Brooke, b. 28 July 1778.
iv. William Murdock Brooke, b. 17 Nov. 1779.
v. Clement Brooke, b. 2 April 1781; d. about 1827; mar. 2 April 1801, Ann Eleanor Whitaker and had issue.

MARYLAND GLEANINGS IN ENGLAND.

The following matter concerning Maryland families (taken from the registers of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and other English records) is partly from my own notes and partly expanded from the unpublished notes of Mr. Henry Fitzgilbert Waters, now in my charge. It is on similar lines to contributions being made to the New York, Virginia, South Carolina, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and other historical societies, and (for Northern New England) to the Essex Institute. The notes of Mr. Waters, not elsewhere printed, I have issued in the *Genealogical Quarterly Magazine*, and its successor, *The Genealogical Magazine*. For an account of the work of Mr. Waters and myself in England, see the *Virginia Historical Magazine* for January, 1903, page 291.

LOTHROP WITHINGTON.

30 *Little Russell Street, W. C., London.*

WINIFRED MULLETT of Charles County. Will 20 April 1685; proved 3 March 1697/98. To my nieces Helen Spratt and Anne Knipe all the money I have in the hands of Sir John Morley and papers in the hands of Mr. Hugh Dent. Debts owing to James Amos and Margerye, his wife to be paid. To my niece, Helen Spratt, my Pearl Necklace. To my niece, Anne Knipe, A Diamond Ring and one Gold Ring. To my niece, Brookes and her daughter Anne, all my goods in their possession. To Cis, the negro, my Stuff Aprons. To Mary Davis, to Mrs. Mary Chandler, to Mary Watham, and to Mrs. Anne Pye, articles of Clothing. To Mr. Edward Pye, husband of Anne Pye, a Bay Nag, left me by Mr. Paggett. Residuary legatee and executrix, my niece, Mary Brookes. Witnesses: Elizabeth Dent, Anne Pye, Margaret Harrison, Cornelius Battewell. Pyne, 59.

[The testatrix was the widow of Rev. Dr. William Mullett, who was living in Maryland in 1684 (Md. Arch., xvii, 264), and her will was proved in Charles County, 9 January, 1693/4 (Annapolis, Lib. 2, fol. 245). According to the letters of her niece, Mrs. Helen Spratt, which are still extant, Mrs. Mullett was the daughter of Sir Thomas Wolseley of Staffordshire and the sister of Anne Wolseley, first wife of Philip Calvert. She had two brothers, Walter Wolseley, father of Mary, first wife of Roger Brooke of Calvert County (*Mag.*, p. 71), and Devereux Wolseley, who by his wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Zouche of Codnor, had two daughters, 1. Helen (buried 24 February, 1725/6, aet. 78), who married, 30 October, 1676, Rev. Thomas Spratt, D. D. (b. 1636; d. 1713), Chaplain to King Charles II., Dean of Westminster in 1683, and Bishop of Rochester in 1684; 2. Anne (buried 26 Aug. 1685), wife of Rev. Thomas Knipe, Prebendary of Westminster (Chester's Register of Westminster Abbey). Anne Knipe (b. 1676), daughter of Rev. Thomas and Anne, was married 16 February, 1696/7, to Michael Arnold, Jr. (b. 1675), of St. Margaret's Westminster, and had, with other issue a daughter, Alicia Arnold (b. 30 July, 1700), who married John Ross and came with her husband to reside in Annapolis, where she died, 9 July, 1746. John Ross, who was one of the Aldermen of Annapolis and Lord Baltimore's Deputy Agent, died in September, 1776, in his 71st year. Their daughter, Anne Arnold Ross, married Francis Key, and was the grand-mother of Francis Scott Key. Mrs. Mary Chandler and Mrs. Anne Pye, who are mentioned in Mrs. Mullett's will, were the daughters of Henry Sewall (*Mag.*, p. 190), Secretary of Maryland, and sisters of Jane Sewall, second wife of Philip Calvert.]

Simon Wotton of Calvert County, Maryland, Chirurgeon. Will 13 January, 1695/6; proved 29 December, 1696. To my wife, Susanna Wotton, £50, or 2000 pounds of tobacco per year for life. To Will: Fisher, son of my brother John Fisher, when 21, £230. To Anne Bardwell, widow, £3. To my executor, £10 to buy mourning rings for those whom he thinks fit. To my executor, Thomas Wharton, £10. All the rest of my real and personal estate to my executor, Thomas Wharton in trust for my daughter, Anne Wotton. Witnesses: John Hyde, Wm. Clapcott, T. Suckle. Bond, 163.

[In 1694, Dr. Simon Wotton was the prosecuting witness against Thomas Johnson of Calvert County, accused of treasonable and seditious utterances (Md. Arch. xx. 72). His will does not appear to be recorded in Maryland.]

Anthony Salway of County of Annarundell, in Maryland, Gent. Will 23 October, 1668; proved 23 August, 1672. If I die in England, to be buried in the Psh. Church of Seaverne-Stoaks, County Worcester, near my father and mother. To my sister, Dorothy, wife of Richard Stevens, £30. To my kinsman, John Sollers, 50 acres of land, which he began to cleere. To my sisters, Dorothy, Hellen, and Joane, 20 shillings apiece. To Virlinda Mylles, my wife's god-daughter, one mare colt. To Mr. Samuel Chewe's children, one mare colt. To my kinsman, Richard Harris, one hogshead of tobacco, free of duties. To my cousins, Hanbury Harris and Robert Harris, 10 shillings. To my brother, Richard Salway's man, 10 shillings. To my brother, Richard Salway of the Citty of Worcester, England, Draper, all the rest, and lands in America. Said brother executor, witnesses: George Mill, Richard Harris. Eure, 103.

[Richard Wells of Anne Arundel County, mentions in his will (1667), his daughter Martha, wife of Anthony Salway (Baldwin's Calendar, i, 40). John Sollers, doubtless the kinsman referred to above, was a Justice of Anne Arundel County, 1679–80 and 1685–86 (Md. Archives), was of Calvert County, in 1688, and one of its Justices in 1692 and 1694. His will made as "John Sallers of Calvert County, Gent," is dated 15 February, 1699 (Annapolis, Lib. 6, fol. 353), and though the date of probate does not appear, his inventory was filed in 1700. An abstract is given in Baldwin's Calendar, ii, 194.]

Elizabeth Levett of Prince George's County, Maryland. widow. Will 22 September, 1725; proved 5 December, 1730. To my son Robert Levett, all my right, title, and claim to estate of Beverly, in Yorkshire, which may be due me as relict of my husband, Robert Levett, and some plate; he is to have full possession when he reaches 18 years. To my son, John Levett, £155, a silver tankard, a can, and a bed. To my daughter, Elizabeth Darkin, one negro man called Tom. To Coll: James

Haddock, £5 and a mourning ring. To my two daughters, Margaret and Ruth Clark, all the remainder of my estate in Maryland and elsewhere. To my brother, Daniel Mariartee and my sister, Margaret Sprigg, a ring each. Executors Coll: James Haddock and Margaret Clark my daughter. Witnesses: Josiah Wilson, Marg^{t} Dick, Lingan Wilson. Auber, 330.

[The testatrix was evidently the daughter of Edward and Honor Mariartee of Anne Arundel County, who died, respectively, in 1688 and 1701. Abstracts of their wills are given in Baldwin's Calendar, ii, 32, 207. Mrs. Levett's sister, Margaret Sprigg, would seem to have been the wife of Col. Thomas Sprigg of Prince George's Co. Mrs. Levett's will was proved in Maryland 25 Nov. 1725].

Samuell Groom of London, Merchant. Will 27 April, 1697; proved 3 February, 1697/8. To my daughter, Sarah, land in Hornechurch, Essex, on paying £500 to my daughter, Constance when 18. To my son, Samuell, land and houses in Aiot, County Hartford, Mansfell Street, Goodman's Fields, Middlesex; also lands, etc., in Maryland, America, and at Ratcliffe, England, and all I am entitled to under the will of my father, Samuel Groome, deceased. To my brother-in-law, John Tayller and Thomas Moore and my friend, John Tanner, £100, in trust to put my son Samuel out. To my daughter, Constance, land, etc., in County Northampton. To my youngest children, John and Elizabeth Groome, lands in Essex and Suffolke. To my wife, £50. To my cozens, Daniell and Samuell Groome, sons of Daniell Groome, £25 a piece. Lands (to said trustees) in Feversham, Kent, in trust for my wife and right heirs. "Whereas, I have advanced the sume of three hundred pounds upon an Act of Parliament, made in the fourth yeare of the reigne of King William and the Late Queen Mary, Entituled An Act for granting to their Ma'ties certain rates and duties of Excise upon Beere, Ale, and other Liquors, for securing certain recompense and advantages in the said Act mentioned to such persons as shall voluntarily advance the sume of tenne Hundred Thousand Pounds towards carrying on the war against France, Whereupon I have allowed me £14 Per Cent. Per Annum," the same to my three children, Elizabeth, Samuel, Constance, £100 each; one-third of the rest to my wife, the remainder amongst my children. Executrix: My Wife. Overseers: John Taylor, Thomas Moore, John Tanner. Witnesses: Harbt. Springett, Will Springett, Fr. Harding. Codicil 30 November, 1697. The house in Goodman's fields to go to my wife first, and an Annuity of £40 per annum issuing out of the Manor of Great Thorlaw, County Suffolk, said annuity purchased of Bartholomew Soames of little Thorlaw, to my son Samuel. Witnesses: Jacob Brent, Harbt. Springett, Fr. Harding. Lort, 57.

NOTES.

The Rev. J. Neilson Barry sends the following note, which reached us too late for insertion in his paper on Trinity Parish :—

"The Rev. Hatch Dent was ordained deacon, October 16, 1785, and priest two days later by Bishop Seabury in Trinity Church, New Haven, Conn., being the ninth clergyman ordained in this country. He was recommended by the Rev. T. J. Claggett (afterwards Bishop), George Goldie and John Stewart. He was five times a member of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Maryland."

A friend has called our notice to the following item in the *Moniteur* (Paris) of October 22, 1792, under the heading, "États-Unis d'Amérique." :—

"On nous mande du Maryland que beaucoup de gens instruits de cet Etat se sont réunis pour former dans Tobano-Port [Port Tobacco?] une société dont le but est la propagation des connoissances politiques et vraiment utiles, l'étude de la constitution de leur pays, et le soin de tenir le peuple éclairé sur ses droits autant qu'il sera possible."

Is anything known of this very praiseworthy society and its activities? It might be revived now with advantage.

QUERY.

One James Pike, or McPike, is said to have been a sergeant in Col. John Eager Howard's regiment, and to have been stationed in Baltimore as a recruiting officer at the beginning of the Revolution. Can any reader furnish any information about him?

EUGENE F. MCPIKE.

1 Park Row, Chicago.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE SOCIETY.

Meeting of June 18th.—The attendance at the June meeting was small, as has usually been the case at this meeting, partly because it came so late in the season, and partly for the reason that there was no paper to be read before the Society. The business transacted was entirely of a routine character, and devoid of any features of special interest.

The following persons were elected to membership in the Society: Robert H. Wright, Willard G. Day, Joseph G. Pangborn, Albert Guy Keith and Mrs. Mary L. Brooke Brock. The deaths of members of the Society announced at this meeting were, Daniel L. Brinton, Thomas K. Carey and Dr. Charles C. Bombaugh.

Meeting of October 8th.—The first fall meeting of the Society was held on this date with a full average attendance of members. The Recording Secretary and the Corresponding Secretary were both absent, the former being seriously ill, and the duties of both of these officers were performed, for the evening, by the Assistant Secretary.

The amendment to the Constitution of the Society which had been offered at the May meeting of the Society, was reported favorably from the Council and made the special order of business at the November meeting.

The Committee on Publications reported the completion of the printing and binding of the 26th volume of the Archives of the State, and that the same was now ready for sale to members, in accordance with the action of the Society taken last Spring.

Dr. Henry J. Berkley and E. P. Hyde were elected active members of the Society, while the loss in membership by reason of death since the June meeting was reported as follows: William B. Norman of New York, Judge William R. Martin, T. E. Hambleton and Theodore Hooper. The paper of the evening was read

by Mr. L. H. Dielman, Assistant Librarian of the Pratt Library, who took for his subject, "The Baltimore Committee of Vigilance and Safety in the War of 1812."

Meeting of November 12th.—The November meeting was marked by an exceptionally large attendance of members of the Society, and a very considerable number of non-members, attracted no doubt by the subject which had been announced of the paper to be read. The attendance of ladies also was larger than is often seen in the rooms of the Society.

The amendment to the Constitution, offered at the May meeting, and favorably reported in October was unanimously adopted. The effect of this amendment is to do away with the June meeting of the Society. This has been under consideration for some time, as it has been demonstrated that June is not a favorable month for a meeting of the Society, and that only formal business was transacted at it, which could as well be disposed of by the Council. Hereafter, therefore the last general meeting of the Society before the summer will be that held in May.

The deposit with the Society was announced of two of the record books of Trinity Parish, Charles County, and the donations to the Library were larger than usual.

The following new members were elected: John L. Kirk, Charles McFaddon, J. Harry Tregoe, William H. Love and R. Bennett Darnall, and the following members of the Society were reported as having died: Joshua G. Harvey, Francis Burns and Joseph C. Mullin, the Recording Secretary.

Resolutions of tribute to the memory of Mr. Mullin were offered by Mr. John Appleton Wilson, which set forth the estimation in which Mr. Mullin had been held both in the Society and in the community, and recited the faithful and efficient service rendered by him both as a member and officer of the Society. The resolutions were unanimously adopted and directed to be entered in full upon the minutes of the Society, and an engrossed copy of them was directed to be sent to Mr. Mullin's parents.

Mr. Basil Sollers then read a paper specially prepared by him at the request of the Society upon "Transported Convict Laborers

in Maryland during the Colonial Period." The paper was the outgrowth of a discussion which had been started about a year ago as to the extent to which, if at all, persons convicted of crimes in England had been transported to this colony, and become the settlers of Maryland. In order that there might be the fullest light on the subject, Mr. Sollers was asked by the Society to prepare a statement of the facts, and his studies in connection with the subject were embodied in a most interesting aud scholarly paper. No extended notice of the paper is given here for the reason that it possessed so much of original research and permanent value that it is proposed to print it in full in the next number of this *Magazine*.

At its conclusion a vote of thanks was extended to Mr. Sollers.